

# **SOCIOLOGY**

— AND —

# **SOCIAL RESEARCH**

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

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# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

May-June, 1933

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## THE BROKEN BALANCE OF MAN AND REGION

### *Ecological Contribution to Social Pathology*

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#### MAN'S A-SYMBIOTIC MULTIPLICATION

THE OLDER the region, the more man-made it is. Yet old regions furnish the best illustrations of ecological laws and processes interwoven into man's work and experiences. Such stable and old areas of human settlement as spacious river valleys can best exhibit not only a close ecologic adjustment of human spatial and food relations, but also the disastrous effect of the loss of a long established ecologic balance on the human community. The Ganges Plain is the world's largest and most ancient area of human concentration. It is an ecological entity possessing what Vidal de la Blache calls "an adapted and traditional genus of life." The nucleus of population distribution has here as its ecological basis the most accessible portion of the Ganges Plain—viz., the Ganges Jamna Doab. From here population has spread along lines of least resistance, the banks of the main river and its tributaries. Along the banks of the lesser rivers and minor streams, and toward the delta, human settlement has been less recent, while at the same time the social composition

exhibits a preponderance of the agricultural tribes and castes having a lower culture and standard of living. But throughout the ecological territory where population multiplies as rapidly as climate, soil, and water supply permit, the general mode of existence is represented by intensive agriculturists. Brunhes and Vallaux, speaking about the Indian and Chinese river plains, observe:

In the regions of water and sunlight, men increase and multiply themselves as plants increase under the influence of a fertile environment. The harvests of rice, millet, and dowrah, won at the price of moderate and routine labor suffice in normal times to nourish the new mouths; the increase of population takes a pace almost as regular and mechanical as the seasonal return of the nourishing plants; when human increase moves more rapidly than the fruit of the seasons, the check operates and harmony is reestablished by means of measurable forces and also by means of deeper forces which geography is not able to get at.

Among these "deeper forces" are natality and mortality which strike out a nicely adjusted balance of human numbers and food supply in the region. Thus, where man by his capacity of reproduction creates more mouths than his intensive toil in the field can feed, nature reestablishes an ecological balance by adjustment of birth and death rates. Not only man's but every other animal's mode and capacity of exploitation and rate of multiplication exhibit some kind of mutual harmony in the ecological territory where he has lived, toiled, and multiplied for generations. It appears that wherever an animal multiplies imprudently and its numbers vary too far from the optimum density which is locally desirable, nature regularly and mechanically sets in motion certain biological safeguards correcting the numerical instability.<sup>1</sup> It is thus that many dissimilar species and functions reciprocally adjust themselves to a

<sup>1</sup> Elton: *Animal Ecology*; also *Animal Ecology and Evolution*.



common subsistence in the ecological territory. From the point of view of numbers, the region is at once an economic and biological unit, the whole of the ecological community being operated upon by natural selection so as to bring about the best compromise in the way of optimum populations for all.

A sharply defined genus of life which may be regarded as an interconnected whole has prevailed over the largest alluvial plain in the world, and attained a highly developed form representing the connections and repercussions between the human masses and factors of the environment for centuries. The reciprocal action between man and the region is here consolidated, emphasising and increasing the present specific character of the region.<sup>2</sup>

Man and the wider environment, indeed, have evolved together through mutual influences. Land, water, tree, and man are by no means separate and independent factors, for by reciprocal influence they form a natural equilibrium, parts of which can be understood only in terms of the other. Such an understanding of regional interrelations helps us better to delineate social causation, while at the same time it promotes that alliance of man with the entire range of ecologic forces in which lie his real security and progress. How far does man,—considered in his expression of population density,—live harmoniously (symbiotically) with the ecologic forces of the region? How far has he multiplied in numbers beyond the resources of the region that he occupies, thus setting narrowing limits for himself when nature is capricious? How far, again, has his ignorance or reckless disregard of the proper balance and rhythm in nature brought about the poverty and ruin of succeeding generations? These questions in

<sup>2</sup> EDITORIAL NOTE: At this point the author illustrates the scope of human ecology by an orienting diagram, which is omitted for lack of space.

human ecology have an enormous practical importance for millions of people living in the steppe and prairie areas of the Upper Ganges Plain, in the malaria-stricken deserted hamlets of the moribund delta, or in the flood-swept settlements of the active delta of the Ganges. Famine and flood show equally well man's crime against nature and nature's stern rebuke.

Where formerly were arid wastes, man by his skillful engineering and patient effort introduces smiling fields. Where again there were bountiful orchards and fertile fields, man by his unskillful interference with the natural drainage brings about agricultural deterioration and epidemic of fevers. Everywhere man has thrived in numbers. The encroachment of the mountains by the tilled land spells continuous destruction of the forest covering which has cumulative bad effects tending to decrease the humidity of the air, the equality of temperature, and the fertility of the region. As the mountain slopes are laid bare, the erosive forces are further let loose which by destroying the soil cap on which forests flourished, makes forest growth impossible for some generations. The mountain torrents formerly harnessed for irrigation now become devastating floods, while the accumulated stores of mineral salts in the mountain soil are scattered upon the plains below, thus adding further to strips of barren waste. Man has also gone to the brink of swamps and reclaimed marshes for the plough. This, coupled with the continuous exhaustion of subsoil water reservoirs by means of thousands of alluvial wells, lowers the waterlevel. As the waterlevel goes down, pastures are depleted, and certain crops are no longer grown, while there is a great strain on bullock power especially in summer when fodder is scarce. As population and cultivation expand, both human and cattle population encroaches upon the jungle belt on the

banks of the rivers. With the destruction of vegetation on the river bank, the forces of soil erosion under the heavy monsoon rainfall have free play, and we have an enormous loss of fertile soil that is carried into the rivers, and extensive formation of desert-like and inhospitable ravines. Thus the decline of fertility as well as dryness of soils, drought, and decline in water level have become associated phenomena in areas of the Upper and Middle Ganges Plain, which are showing a tendency toward a reversion of the normal progression of crops and xerophytic regression generally. In the lower reaches of the rivers, the increase of population leads to the construction of embankments, roads, and railways, which facilitate the silting up of river-beds and the change of water-courses, leaving the legacy of decline of fertility, water-logging, and fevers. In the areas where the rivers still exercise their delta-building functions, making and unmaking the landscape, man builds his hamlets on the banks of the mighty rivers, whose waves now and then destroy his fields and habitations. Nearer the estuary the rivers more often go out of hand and ravage the country.

Man in order to control nature must to a large extent follow her, for nature has her own wisdom. If he seriously disturbs the balance and rhythm in which nature delights, vengeance often follows quickly and man has no escape.

It is the task of applied human ecology to trace man's deterioration, when by his own activities of exploitation and reproduction he upsets the balance of the region. Plant and animal, as well as human communities, exhibit changes which seem to take place in cyclic recurrence. With the physiographic and hydrographic decline of the region, due to both natural causes and "biotic" interferences, there is a deterioration of the standard of flora and fauna; and man also returns through famine or epidemic

or both to a lower, uncrowded pastoral existence even in ancient and fertile river valleys.

Civilizations thus come of age in ancient areas of settlement. Applied human ecology envisages the pictures of man's manifold development as his activities are in harmony with the ecologic balance of population and resources as well as of vegetation and animal life, being more of the nature of a biological partnership than a one-sided mentation. A city, a market, or irrigation work once destroyed may be rebuilt, but a region which has lost its fertility, moisture, and vegetation cannot be renewed; and this seals the doom of historic cultures. Thus the dictum, "After man—the desert or jungle," epitomizes the recurring tragedy of civilizations, which have gone in the same way of cyclical regression as plant and animal communities. No region is so full of debris and graves of historic empires as the Ganges Valley. The decline of ancient civilizations is connected with the natural deterioration of a riverine territory and with climatic change to drier and hotter conditions. It is not, however, the inorganic environment alone, which becomes unfavorable for man.

The failure of civilization also results from far-reaching disturbance in man's animal environment due to increase of population and biological pressure.

## THE PLATFORM OF THE HITLER MOVEMENT

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PARADOXICAL as it may seem, the Hitler Party was not inaugurated by Hitler. He joined the party, founded in Munich by Anton Drechsler early in 1919, only as its seventh member; but already by 1921 he had become its chairman and guiding spirit. Hence the platform of the party, announced in February, 1920, and considered by the party as unalterable even today, bears the impress of its present leader.

In the preamble to the twenty-five planks of their platform the Hitlerites disclaim being technically a party. They allege that any party, the present Marxistic-Socialistic parties in especial, is but a nefarious outgrowth of parliamentarism, selfishly propagating itself even after the ends for which the party has been formed have been attained. The *National-Socialistic (Na-zi)* German Labor Party definitely states that it refrains from perpetuating itself after the planks in its incontrovertible and finite platform have been realized. The Hitlerites, accordingly, represent a movement rather than a party.

It is significant that Adolf Hitler was born in Austria close to the Bavarian border, son of a petty official. His birth into the middle class explains his utter lack of appreciation of the solidarity of the laboring class and his dread of proletarianism; witness his curt and disdainful refusal while himself a young laborer in Vienna to join not only the socialistic party but also the labor union. His residence in Vienna, furthermore, opened his eyes to the Slavophil attitude of Austrian court circles and to the



ethnographic disruption of his own nation. It was then that he envisaged the state as a body politic not of conglomerate ethnic elements but of a people (*Volk*). Consequently the first and foremost plank in the Hitler platform posits a Greater Germany,—according to the principle of self-determination,—of the people proclaimed by President Wilson and accepted by Germany on faith as the basis for later treaty agreements. Hitler's voluntary entrance into the German army at the outbreak of the War and his demand that German Austria, including the German parts of Czechoslovakia, be united with Germany are but logical parallels. Similarly Hitlerite influence is felt in the rather pronounced movement among the Germanic inhabitants of Flanders to join the ethnically related Dutch.

The second plank of the platform, maintaining Germany's right to parity among the nations of the world, demands not the revision but rather the repeal of the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain. The demand for colonies is consequentially comprised in the third plank. It is frequently asserted in nationalistic German circles that in 1918 the German army, though lacking food and equipment, was still intact and undefeated; that it was rather the "dagger thrust" from the back, the profiteers and revolutionists at home, which gave the German army its death blow; that the outcome of the military struggle left the issues and the causes of the war undecided; that nevertheless the vicious treaties had been imposed upon the vanquished as if they had admitted their guilt and conceded the right to exact reparations. Historical investigation and perspective and a lessened war psychosis have contributed to a juster estimate of the German contention in most of the allied countries. Yet it is doubtful whether Chancellor von Papen would have been as successful at Lausanne if he had not been able to utilize the Hitlerite strength—

much to their own consternation at the time, to be sure. The Nazis, desperate and therefore unconcerned about the rest of the world as many of them are, were the first party since the war to take a defiant and uncompromising stand on the question of treaty revision. The re-awakening of national consciousness and vigor, which has been communicated to large circles hitherto apathetic and indifferent, victims of defeatism, has been perhaps the Nazis' greatest contribution to German political life.

The succeeding planks in the platform, whether expressed covertly or openly, reveal the party's inbred anti-Semitic stand. Hitler himself has recently refrained from racial aspersions; but in Austria, where Hitlerism gained a surprisingly strong foothold only this past summer, the Jews have been made the scapegoats for most of that country's ills. The recent Hitlerite demonstration at Salzburg against an American negro singer indicates that resentment is borne against all non-Nordic rivals. One wonders whether the summons to the demonstration would have included the exhortation to forbid concerts to foreign singers when native talent is starving, if the guest had been a Scandinavian or an Englishman. Granted that,—in Austria, in particular,—a racial problem does exist, anti-Semitic sentiment is expressed altogether too crassly. At a monster campaign meeting in Vienna, for example, from which, as is customary, Jews had been excluded, the stage was placarded as follows: "Whoever buys from Jews is a traitor to his country!" The Viennese leader of the Hitlerites spoke to an appreciative audience thus: "It would have been better if the Jews who had robbed the Pharaohs of their gold,"—note the insinuation—"had perished in the Red Sea then and there." In a widely read history of German literature of Hitlerite tendency there appears in parentheses after the names of all authors of Semitic origin

the one derisive word: "Jude—enough said." When called to account for their defamations the answer of the Hitlerite leaders is usually: The masses can only be influenced by repeated glamorous and exaggerated phrases; any successful reform movement entails excesses. There are, to be sure, objective protagonists of anti-Semitism among the Hitlerites. For example, Wilhelm Stapel, editor of *Deutsches Volkstum*, and Alfred Rosenberg, editor of the chief organ of the party, the *Voelkische Beobachter*. Their contention, a conviction based upon scientific study and thought, is that the Jewish race in its biological and moral fibre is foreign to the Germanic race and hence incapable of amalgamating with it, an asseveration denied by Jacob Wassermann in his autobiographical *Mein Weg als Jude und Deutscher*. It is alleged, furthermore, that the Jews, frequently through unscrupulous manipulations, have dispossessed the Germans even in phases of cultural activity which in a German country ought to be predominantly German; as the press, the movie, the theater, and even the schools. It is regretted, for instance, that in the United States, through the efforts of Jewish publishers, German literature is largely represented by German-Jewish men of letters such as Feuchtwanger, Wassermann, Werfel, Schnitzler, Zweig, many of whose works are claimed to be psycho-analytical—a thrust at Freudianism—erotic and morally disintegrating. Hitlerism, according to its tenets, thus felt constrained to reject the American film "All Quiet on the Western Front," made in a Jewish-owned studio.

In their platform the Nazis would admit to citizenship and to governmental positions only men of Germanic blood. In times of economic stress they would require that all non-Germans, chiefly Jews, leave the country; nay, even demand that all non-Germans who had immigrated to Germany since August 2, 1914, be expelled.

This clause is aimed at the numerous penurious Jewish newcomers from Galicia. Anti-Semitism, in fact, pervades the entire program.

The economic program emphatically demands the abolition of the unearned increment; it demands the unconditional confiscation of all war profits, the participation by the employee in the profits of his labor, and the nationalization or communalization of banks, trusts, warehouses, and chain and department stores now largely in Jewish hands. This phase of the program appeals particularly to the *petite bourgeoisie*. Rural districts were at first rebuffed by paragraph 17 of the program which seemed to imply the confiscation of landed property under given circumstances. An explanatory confirmation of that paragraph, made by Hitler himself,—the only person in the party whose dictum bears official authority and responsibility,—reiterates the belief of the party in the integrity of private property. It adds, however, that just as the landowner is to be guarded by the state against ruthless speculation, particularly on the part of Jewish exploiters, so has the state the right to confiscate land that is not utilized for the common welfare. This pronouncement of 1928 has been elaborated in the agrarian program of 1930, an appendix to the platform designed to gain the rural vote.

Though itself standing upon the ground of a positive Christianity, the party assures freedom of worship, provided such worship does not conflict with the moral tenets of the Germanic race. Hitler, however, has frowned upon excrescent movements in his party which favor a reorientation of Christianity,—displacement of the Old Testament by northern mythology. He is also astute enough, though himself a Catholic, not to let the semblance of a balance of powers between Catholic Austria-Bavaria and Protestant Prussia thwart a political coalescence of the three leading German states.

Finally the Hitlerites demand a centralized government. A parliament of over 500 members, they contend, diffuses responsibility and leads to futile and enervating bickerings, and induces the spoils system, thus depriving a government of its essential attributes: accountability, strength, and integrity. The Nazis see their motto, "Common interest goes before self-interest," realized in a non-hereditary, elective monarchy or oligarchy. In such a state the boastful "*L'état, c'est moi*" would give way to the ideal of Frederick the Great, whose picture adorns numerous walls in the Brown House, the Hitlerite headquarters in Munich: "I am the foremost servant of the state." Though not specifically stated in the program, the consensus of party opinion would raise the voting age of men to about thirty and restrict if not eliminate altogether woman suffrage in matters political, for men do not mature at twenty and a married woman's sphere of activity and influence lies in the home, the corner stone of the state.

The Hitler movement is only in part explained as an escape from despair to expectation. This vague expectancy is consciously enforced and substantiated by the realization on the part of the hopeful that the much ridiculed homely virtues,—confidence, industry, obedience, honesty, form the basis in turn of the family, the community, and the state. Idealistic youth, which saw itself disintegrating and drifting, has of itself become conscious of the necessity of vigorous self-discipline and loyal subordination to a leader from whom, on the other hand, sincerity, trustworthiness, and ability are expected in equal measure. Such an ideal Hitlerite youth finds exhibited in the heroes of old Germanic folklore. Hence, too, the demand in the program that a national army displace the present mercenary one is found not in the section relating to politics but rather in the section relating to education



and social welfare. The Hitler movement is chiefly volitional and ethical in its purport, not intellectual. Even its frequently arrogant Nordic extravaganzas may be viewed as a moral regeneration. Therein lies its appeal and its constructiveness.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Besides relying on his own experiences and conversations while abroad recently, the author has consulted the following works: Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (14th ed.; Munich, 1932); Alfred Rosenberg, *Das Wesensgefuege des Nationalsozialismus* (Munich, 1932); Alfred Rosenberg, *Wesen, Grundsaeetze und ziele der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiterpartei* (Munich: Tausend, 1930), p. 150; Gottfried Feder, *Das Programm der N. S. D. A. P.* (Munich: Auflage, 1932), pp. 71-79; Gottfried Feder, *Der Deutsche Staat auf nationaler und sozialer Grundlage* (Munich: Auflage, 1932), p. 8; Theodor Heuss, *Hitlers Weg* (Stuttgart, 1932); *Was wir vom Nationalsozialismus erwarten*, herausgegeben von Albrecht E. Guenther, Heilbronn, 1932.

## SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE NEW LEISURE\*

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THE PROBLEMS of leisure have come increasingly into the foreground in recent years for two principal reasons. First, the amount of leisure time has been constantly increasing and seems destined to increase even more rapidly in the near future. Secondly, urban civilization and mechanical devices, such as the automobile, the motion picture, and the radio have disrupted traditional leisure pursuits and the individual's control over his own spare time thus compelling community recognition of the subject.

Aside from the tremendous amount of enforced leisure which the economic depression has brought in its wake, much attention is being called to the constantly shortening working week and working day even during periods of prosperity. Labor leaders exhibit charts showing the reduction of the working week from eighty-four hours in 1840 to fifty hours or less in 1930. Since that time the forty-hour week has, in theory, at least, already been accepted. In addition, more than one-third of our population is composed of children, and from forty to fifty per cent of all their waking hours is leisure time.<sup>1</sup> Another fifth of the population engaged as housewives has been largely released from the drudgery of long hours by the changing

\* Part of the manuscript of a forthcoming volume on the subject of Leisure.

<sup>1</sup> Estimate by E. T. Lies, *The Leisure of a People*, (The Council of Social Agencies, Indianapolis, 1929) p. 56. See also F. C. Rosecrance "Character Building, A Community Enterprise," *Journal of the National Education Association*, February, 1932.

rôle of the home as well as by the revolution in the technique of housekeeping. Not only has the number of children per family decreased, but the mother's responsibility for education and rearing has been largely assumed by the community. Household appliances—gas, electricity, water supply, and sewers—as well as the simplifications in the preparation of food and clothing, have greatly lessened in these fields the labor of millions of women.

Add to this large number of women and children, the "retired" and the "leisure class" proper, and some idea is secured of the enormous amount of leisure which exists in a modern community. The production of the material necessities of life, which has for centuries been the dominant concern of nearly the whole population, including women and children, is today carried on by a small fraction of the population. The "gainfully employed," which includes the producers of luxuries as well as of necessities, today comprise only about two-fifths of our population. In the face of such facts and with even more striking prospects for the future, it is not surprising that Nicholas Murray Butler declares that "guidance in the right use of leisure is vastly more important than what is now known as vocational guidance."

The problem of leisure has not received, as yet, serious consideration in the social sciences. Recreation and the use of leisure are frequently regarded as sentimental subjects for intellectual dilettantes, and not a subject for serious philosophic thought or scientific investigation. In its applied aspects, likewise, we find recreation workers regarded somewhat patronizingly by social workers. This attitude is not entirely unjustified, for recreation workers have their principles, techniques, and procedures even less adequately formulated and standardized than the other social workers. In any case, it is those who judge the

fatherless and plead for the widow that constitute the aristocracy in social work at present. This is perhaps inevitable as long as the problem of poverty dominates the field of social work. The same situation accounts, no doubt, for the dominant interests of social scientists.

The importance and close interrelationship of economic conditions with all aspects of community life, is a commonplace and needs no elaboration here. The amounts and uses of leisure will of course be greatly conditioned by the quantity and distribution of wealth. But the central problem now before us, namely, the prospect of long hours of leisure for the masses of men, remains regardless of whether in the future we shall succeed in solving the problem of distribution as effectively as we have already solved the problem of production. All of the proposed or prospective renovations of the social order definitely accept this fact. The problems of leisure would not disappear as a result of any currently proposed reforms of our present economic order. The details of the problem might be different according to whether the leisure was the free time of educated and well-paid people with steady employment, or that of unemployed laborers subsisting on charity. But these different possibilities do not alter the fundamental fact that the masses of men will to an increasing degree be relieved, and indeed prevented, from occupying a substantial part of their working hours in certain traditional or conventional ways that have hitherto obtained. The consideration of ways and means of profitably spending this new increment of time, whether by the wealthy or by the poor, under any given conditions, is the problem before us. From this point of view, the problems of leisure are in no way secondary or subsidiary to other aspects of social life now much in the foreground of public attention.

The social sciences are devoted to the study of group behaviour—what people do. Now it happens that among the various activities in which man engages—political, economic, and social—are certain activities which we call play, recreation, artistic, or more generally, “leisure” pursuits. These activities are present as universally, have as long a history, and presumably have behind them as deep-seated biological drives as any of the others. All behaviour is the result of the organism struggling to make an adjustment of some sort. Play, painting, dancing, and singing are basically just as truly responses to organic needs as are hunting, farming, or withdrawing one’s hand from the fire. From this point of view, play and artistic behaviour are as proper subject matter for scientific study as any other phases of human activity.

It is true that perhaps the most conspicuous and dramatic behaviour of man during the last century has been his wealth-getting and wealth-using activities. The study of these activities is called Economics. Likewise, the study of man’s governmental activities has been called Political Science. If the conditions which have made these activities conspicuous should in some way be mitigated so that they would occupy a relatively small part of man’s time and attention; if, further, the importance of man’s leisure activities should become increasingly apparent: Why should not the leisure-getting and leisure-using activities of man then become as legitimate an object of scientific study as his wealth-getting and wealth-using activities? This field of behaviour is subject to the same type of inquiry as the patterns and sequences which it exhibits, the things which condition it, and the principles which govern it. The fact that such study would in many places involve economic considerations would in no way prejudice its status as a science on a par with economics.



For the latter just as frequently involves the phenomena of leisure activities. The divisions of the sciences are purely a matter of the problems uppermost in our minds and the point of view from which we choose to consider them. Whether the study of leisure activities and the knowledge derived therefrom is classified as a branch of consumption economics, as social psychology, or under any other rubric is, of course, unimportant in itself. The important thing is study of the behaviour, and the solution of problems arising out of it.

In view of the prevalence of the idea that the present problems of leisure are merely by-products of economic problems, we may here digress for a moment to consider the actual relationship of these phenomena. Perhaps the chief reason for the present preoccupation of the social sciences and social workers with economic problems is the assumption that a mere increase in the purchasing power of the masses will achieve the end sought. It is a question, in fact, whether increased purchasing power, instead of being regarded as a means to an end, has not come to be regarded as an end in itself. Certainly such confusion is not unknown in individual lives. The notorious preoccupation of economics with wealth-getting, or production, rather than with wealth-using, or consumption and distribution, is but a reflection of this tendency. The attitude is quite general that if only a minimum budget of some two thousand dollars could be insured to all families, then certainly all would be well. Yet there is every reason to believe that if all who are now below that standard should be allowed this minimum, and the income of other classes remain where it now is or be correspondingly increased, the net happiness of men and certainly the solution of the leisure problem, would not be measurably advanced.

Man's physical needs are inextricably interdigitated with his psychological wants. The insatiability of the latter in a society where conspicuous and competitive consumption is the basis of prestige is self-evident and has frequently been pointed out. Now poverty is properly defined not in absolute terms of goods and services consumed, but in terms of the gap between wants and "necessities" of all kinds and the capacity to satisfy them. In short, poverty is fundamentally a state of mind rather than a state of stomach. It follows as a matter of logic that a proportionate increase in the purchasing power of all classes would leave everyone relatively as rich or as poor as before. Attempts to arrive at minimum budgets are all hopelessly entangled in factors of competitive, invidious, consumption for status or prestige. Even attempts to arrive at a "subsistence" minimum, not to mention "physical efficiency," "health and decency," and other such standards, all become inextricably involved in the fatal difficulty of a shifting and relative norm. The threshold of mere biological survival as seen among simpler peoples is extremely low. It is surprising what simple fare will maintain healthy existence if the group norms are correspondingly low. It does not follow that this minimum would represent a survival or subsistence threshold in a group with other standards because the strain, primarily mental but ultimately physical, of living at wide variance with the group standard would probably preclude survival.

It is futile to attempt a fundamental separation of so-called "mental," "psychological" wants from "biological." Biological survival must in the last analysis be defined in terms of the adjustment of a given organism to the environmental pressures to which it is susceptible. The sociological and psychological conditionings of an organ-

ism are as truly part of its biological nature (response capacities) as any other adjustment mechanisms, including the so-called inherent ones.

It may be that if a minimum yearly income of two thousand dollars were guaranteed to all families in this country at the present time, so-called physical want—malnutrition, inadequate clothing and shelter—would temporarily disappear. But it certainly does not necessarily follow under current social standards and ideals. There is no guarantee that the increased income would not be absorbed in purely competitive, conspicuous, and honorific consumption.

Take, for example, the well-known fact that a family in this country will sometimes rather cut down on the food item in the budget than go without an automobile. Even more striking and to the point are the well-known cases in which people will endure privation and self-denial of physical necessities in order to "throw a party" involving conspicuously wasteful consumption because of its prestige value in bringing or maintaining social status. Or take a striking case from present day actual life: Before me lies the front page of a daily paper of an industrial city. It carries reports of two suicides. One is a laborer, confronted with starvation. The other is a banker who has lost heavily in the stock market. So appalling have been his losses, says the report, that his fortune has shrunk to a quarter of a million dollars. To him the larger fortune and its standards have become so intertwined with what on other levels is considered the merely biological aspects of life, that he can no more live apart from it than can the laborer apart from physical sustenance. The one organism is as inadequate in its environment as the other.

The present attempts to salvage, civilize, or adjust men by the sole method of increasing their purchasing power,

is, therefore, certainly foredoomed to failure. The significance of any change in this factor will be determined entirely by the degree to which they are accompanied by certain conditioning of the organism—education in wants, tastes, and ideals. The ultimate objective is the adjustment of the individual to a desired social order. This can be achieved by a process which may be looked at from two points of view: (a) the manipulation of the environment, (b) the conditioning of the individual. Which approach is to be relied on is perhaps to be determined finally by the known limits of both approaches at the present state of knowledge. No conditioning of the organism, no educational, psychological, or sociological devices at present known can be substituted for certain basic animal needs essential to survival. Conversely, the extension of purchasing power has under present conditions its limits. The efficiency of, or resistance to, each method increases as these limits are approached. Between these limits, a certain purchasing power with a corresponding education in wants, standards, and tastes would appear to achieve the most economical and efficient adjustment.

In conditioning the organism to the wants and tastes compatible with the known limitations of other factors, leisure-time wants are destined to play an increasingly important part. Under present standards and ideals, there is reason to believe that conspicuous and competitive consumption of leisure would become even more dominant than consumption of other things. For the consumption of leisure lends itself especially to the achievement of status. As leisure increases, therefore, competitive consumption may increase correspondingly. It is in the face of this possibility that we may ask: Are the goals to be attained by constantly increasing purchasing power and competitive consumption worth while, and what are the

limits to which this approach should be pushed? Nearly all discussion today is directed to a consideration of how existing standards may be attained and further raised. May it not be wise to examine the standards themselves?

The considerations set forth above raise a number of basic questions. To what extent is it true that the masses of men have more actual leisure than formerly? Has the shortening of the work day been counterbalanced by other conditions inseparably connected with work, such as commuting? Is it true that the dominant pattern of leisure is an oscillation between night clubs, motoring, and "outlines" of culture? If so, what proportion of the participants are merely caught in the rush of the traffic, find little satisfaction in what they are doing, and are looking for a quiet side street into which to escape? To what extent are leisure activities merely a competitive striving for status? These are questions of fact to which we really do not know the answers. However plausible the hypothesis raised in this paper and in an increasing literature on the subject, the fact remains that they are based on very casual observation. The subject has never been seriously studied.

The relation of all of the above questions to the whole subject of personality development, community integration, and mental hygiene is another important field for social research. The relation of inadequate relaxation and recreation to the phenomena of orgiastic compensations and other pathological behaviour is still a largely untouched subject. Occupational, recreational, and artistic therapy has already suggested important relationships in this field.

Finally, the very definition of a subsistence standard of living with reference to leisure, amusements, and luxury consumption for different ages, sexes, and classes is still



open. To what extent does the maintenance of mental balance and personality in the current pattern of life require the larger, conspicuous, and competitive consumption of goods and services? Does the solution lie in (a) a constant increase in the present type of consumption, (b) consumption of a different type, or (c) in the substitution of activities which have so far as the economic system is concerned, both their beginning and their end in the individual himself?

The last question raises the whole problem of the evaluation of the objectives of human striving. This involves setting up criteria of human well-being, social desirability, and a general consideration of standards of survival and happiness. Certainly the appraisal of our objectives is as legitimate an object of thought and investigation as the mere consideration of means of attaining the ends which tradition and the course of events have caused us to pursue. Rugged individualism was well adapted to the material subjugation of a continent. May it not be a nuisance in a necessarily coöperative era?

## THE FUNCTION OF THE COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES IN THE COMMUNITY\*

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IN EVERY more or less urbanized community there are several by no means mutually exclusive groups of agencies seeking to satisfy the various welfare needs. One group is composed of the so-called character building and the recreational agencies, and consists of all those organized efforts to supplement the work of the home, school, and church in providing proper character influences and in making available safe, wholesome, and, if possible, constructive recreation for children, young people, and adults. Significant in most American communities are such agencies as the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Y. M. H. A., the supervised playground groups, the city recreational work, if any, the community centers, and the settlement houses, though some of these, to be sure, serve various other functions as well.

A second group deals with problems of poverty and dependency. Here fall all such agencies as the public and private family case work and family relief organizations, the homes or refuges for the homeless and transients, feeding stations, orphanages, child placing and other child welfare agencies, the Red Cross occasionally, community work-shops such as the Good Will Industries, and the Sal-

\*The writer's sociological specialties are social theory and the history of social thought. He is at present, however, president of the Lincoln Council of Social Agencies. This paper, the substance of which was given recently before a section of the joint meeting of the Iowa and Nebraska Conferences for Social Work, has grown out of this experience. The area involved in the work of this council includes a population of about 100,000. Throughout the writer is visualizing mainly communities of fifty to several hundred thousand—not great, complex urban aggregates.

vation Army if it gives relief. Bound up closely with these two groups of agencies, are the courts, especially the juvenile court and court of domestic relations and those nonpenal agencies dealing with delinquents, the convicted, and their families.

The third group consists of the various health agencies, public and private, engaged in supervision, education, epidemic prevention and control or provision of medical services for the less favored parts of the population. Here are included all public health organizations such as the municipal and possibly state health departments, city clinics or public dispensaries, public school health departments, the hospitals, especially those having social workers on the staff; the various private agencies such as the tuberculosis associations; baby clinics, such as those conducted by the Junior League; Red Cross nursing service, mental and social hygiene organizations, and all bodies, private and public, concerned with housing.

If these various agencies in the community are to function effectively there must be: (1) the proper business administration, and (2) the essential social organization. In the great majority of the cities of the United States these two services are jointly rendered by a so-called Community Chest or Community Fund. The latter service, usually connected with or merged in the Chest or Fund, and in the form of a sub-organization, is known as the Council of Social Agencies. In spite of the fact that the Chest and Council are separate though parallel organizations in only a few cities, the writer, in the light of what he believes to be essential duties of the council in the community, maintains that they should be on a complete parity. A rather clearcut division of labor with specialized oversight in each case is eminently desirable. Each should serve its distinct and separate functions, though both, of

course, unavoidably must carry these on with a high degree of coöperation.<sup>1</sup>

The proper business administration is the function of the Community Chest. It should raise the funds in a co-operative manner, as cheaply as possible, without annoyance to the citizenry at large, and without resorting to "payroll looting" or any other sort of high-handed, holdup methods. It should also supervise the disbursing of these funds, give the necessary financial and business oversight and advice to the participating agencies, deal with financial emergencies, provide uniform accounting service, and contribute various other services connected with sound financing and efficient business operation. The Community Chest should at all hazards be kept from becoming a monopolistic form of upper class philanthropy, or an agent for exercising an exclusively business man's dictation of what is good or expedient for the community along welfare lines. Nor should it become a community advertising or ballyhoo feature. If a large fund is necessary, it means, in part at least, that there is a vast amount of social, domestic, political, and economic maladjustment and disorganization in the given community and in the nation and world as a whole, much of which could be eliminated if we used the brains, knowledge, and techniques now available, and, what is vastly more important, were willing, as individuals and classes, to make certain crucial changes in our general organization. A socially minded and socially efficient community should pride itself on the smallness of its Chest. It is obvious, of course, that the Community Chest is concerned only with private and semiprivate social agencies, since the public ones are supported out of tax monies or other revenues obtained through political units.

<sup>1</sup> This, incidentally, is the nature of our Lincoln set-up.

The function of the Council of Social Agencies, as a parallel organization to the Community Chest, is social administration. Composed of both representatives of the various coöperating agencies and interested and informed laymen, its obligation is to coördinate and regulate the work of the various agencies involved, and to carry on the necessary community research and planning. The functions which the Council performs as a clearing house and a basis of coöperation for the social agencies are basic and indispensable. Such tasks as the settling of jurisdictional disputes, bringing about an economical and effective division of labor, or exchanging necessary case information must be performed. They are implied in its name, and the need for these functions called it into being. But a number of other functions have been and must be assumed by it, even if it means changing its name. Notable among these other highly essential duties are discussion, investigation and research, planning and program making, and public education along social lines. To carry on these tasks effectually, the Council should include not only the agencies supported by the Community Chest, but also all public agencies and such private ones as may be financed in other ways.

The Council of Social Agencies is the community's cabinet for general social well-being, the community's interpreter of social needs, and the general board of strategy for the community's social work, broadly conceived. Here there should be a converging and an interplay of the people out on the "social firing line," the people with the best social intelligence and technical knowledge, the people with imagination and constructiveness, and the investigators and critics. It should be the focusing point of both the community's debits and antisocial trends, and its reconstructive powers and abilities.



In the light of the above discussion, the more or less typical functions in the community of a Council of Social Agencies serving its appropriate and necessary functions are herewith listed.<sup>2</sup>

## I

### COÖRDINATING FUNCTIONS

a. The coördination of private and public agencies, as for example the work of the private family agencies and the family relief work of the municipality or county. Obviously also private agencies alone are inadequate to deal on an effective scale with such problems as racial complications, feeble-mindedness, insanity, delinquency, venereal disease, neglected children, widows' allowances, unemployment or housing.

b. The coördination of the work of the family welfare, health, character-building, recreational agencies, and so forth.

c. Provision of a clearing house for the discussion of agency and community problems. Through periodical meetings an exchange of mutually advantageous information and practice is made possible. By getting agency representatives around the table hostility, jealousy, and friction between agencies is eliminated. This also usually serves as a spur to the weaker or less scientific organizations.

d. Maintenance and operation of the confidential Social Service Exchange with its listing of all clients and the

<sup>2</sup> In this connection see particularly Arthur Dunham, *Community Councils in Action* (Philadelphia Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, 1927), 27 pp.; Homer Folks, "Fundamental Objectives of a Council of Social Agencies," *National Conference for Social Work*, 1928: pp. 395-97; Robert W. Kelso, "The Community Chest and Relief Giving," *National Conference for Social Work*, 1930: pp. 233-38; Francis H. McLean, *The Central Council of Social Agencies: A Manual* (New York: Am. Ass'n. for Organizing Family Work, 1921), 52 pp.; Beardsley Ruml, "Pulling Together for Social Service," *Social Service Review IV* (1930), pp. 1-10; *Social Planning in Community Chests and Councils* (New York: Ass'n. of Community Chests and Councils, 1931), 47 pp.

agencies dealing with them. This is one of the absolutely indispensable prerequisites to any community coöperation in social work.<sup>3</sup>

e. Giving any desired or needed help from the group as a whole to individual agencies in meeting their particular problems.

f. The prevention of duplication and the production of the essential dovetailing, as, for example, between the standard family organizations and those under racial or religious auspices, or those doing some relief work like the American Legion and the Salvation Army; also the dovetailing of relief agencies having trained case workers and those mushroom, emergency agencies giving relief through volunteer visitors.

g. The settlement of jurisdictional disputes, as, for example, between the Y. M. C. A. and the Boy Scouts on teen-age boys, or between the public relief agency and the regular family associations.

h. Effecting increased economics, both of money and efforts, so as to husband and utilize to the greatest possible extent the community's financial and human resources. Avoiding the various costs accruing from the competition of highly specialized agencies.<sup>4</sup>

i. Coöperation with the Community Chest, usually through a joint committee, in budget making. The distribution of the funds among agencies not being made on a pro rata basis, but as Kelso puts it,

Upon three distinct principles, namely, the needs of the receiving agency, the efficiency with which it performs its functions, and the needs of the community, not only for this service alone, but for this service in comparison with all other services represented by the membership in the fund.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See the excellent work by Elizabeth A. Hughes and Francelia Stuenkel, "The Social Service Exchange in Chicago," *Social Service Monographs*, No. 8 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. F. Steiner, *Community Organization*, (New York, 1925), 321-2.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, 235-6.

j The inauguration and conducting of joint activities for the benefit of a group of agencies, such as a thrift shop for the collection and renovation of used clothing, household goods, and so on, which in turn are drawn upon by the various relief agencies, or common purchasing of supplies, or a joint store.

## II

### REGULATORY FUNCTIONS

a. The admission of new agencies into the community set-up. Forestalling unnecessary agencies promoted by ambitious or uninformed groups. Making an investigation in each case and reporting on the basis of (1) need for it; (2) possible duplication; (3) effect on community finances, particularly with respect to the curtailing of the funds of strategic agencies. The Council is fitted for work of this kind due to its representative character and the fact that its personnel is best able to pass judgment upon the claims of the new agency.

b. The establishment and improvement of local standards and policies, in so far as they are needed to supplement those of the nationally established agencies or to guide those that are purely local in organization. Also produce such incitement and encouragement to carry out standards and policies and such mild and discrete disciplinary measures as are possible.

c. Checking upon the social effectiveness of various community agencies. Calling attention to shoddy work of the staff, nepotism, overstaffing, ossification, the "dead hand," careless record keeping, or any of the various other diseases that appear in agencies. The aiding of agencies in keeping up with scientific findings, for example, new information on family budgets, diets, neighborhood surveys, child placement, and so forth, might also be mentioned.

d. Discouraging in agencies certain functions that are contrary to the best interests of the individuals concerned or to the community, or encouraging superior policies and practices. For example, trying to get a case worker into every children's home or orphanage, or trying to bring about the abandonment of orphanages for normal children, except as places of temporary refuge while awaiting placement; subduing an ambitious agency caring too well for transient men.

### III

#### COMMUNITY STUDY AND PLANNING, AND GENERAL COMMUNITY ADVANCE

a. Community investigations and surveys—periodical community audits—formal or informal, special or general, conducted in an effort to visualize community conditions, determine trends, and anticipate future needs, and also with the intention of carrying out constructive measures. Some of this may be delegated to colleges and universities, if available, but increasingly an adequate research staff and funds are becoming indispensable if any Council is to function effectively.

b. The continuous development of a rationally integrated program of welfare work for the community. No council of social agencies has to deal with a static condition. Social conditions change; policies become antiquated; new knowledge and techniques develop. This calls for the enlargement of certain agencies and the diminution of others, and the continual readapting of all agencies to each other. It means going beyond day-by-day experience and neighborhood needs, and developing a general, long-time plan or design for the whole community—a substitution of plan and conscious intention for undirected

growth and undisciplined development.<sup>6</sup> This formulation of general and far-reaching programs should usually involve coöperation with city and state governments, and with civic, religious, and educational bodies.

c. The advocacy and promotion of new social enterprises and even new agencies, or new activities for old agencies. The community welfare machinery must be kept abreast of newly discovered community needs. There may be distinct need for a child-placing agency, some new type of health work, an unemployment commission or bureau, an Urban League, or a mental or social hygiene organization.

d. Promoting and supporting necessary new social legislation, municipal, state, and national. This activity takes the form of developing opinion, bill or ordinance drafting or advice in such drafting, and lobbying.

e. Community education regarding social work and community hazards, needs, and plans. Informing the public as to the work of the various agencies, presenting the point of view and the method of attack of scientific social work in a comprehensible and attractive manner, emphasizing correction and prevention, not mere alleviation. For this purpose use can be made of memberships on boards of coöperating agencies, women's and civic clubs, the chamber of commerce, special lecture courses sponsored by the Council, reading circles, church groups, and bulletins, as well as the usual newspaper publicity. This is a process of interpretation and instruction to cope with the general public's lack of information, its misinformation, prejudices, sentimentalities, misunderstanding, lethargy, and lack of social vision and social values.

Such functions as those outlined above must be carried on in every urban community and may be needed in many

<sup>6</sup>Cf. William Hodson, "Community Planning for Social Work," *National Conference for Social Work*, 1929: 485-96.



rural or semi-rural districts. These functions admittedly, require a council, or at least an executive committee, composed of people with scientific social information, open-mindedness, and sane social vision; people with judgment, tact, and discretion, but also force and firmness; people with a community point of view dominated not by quantitative standards or advertising motives, but by the impartial and unselfish desire for all-around human well-being. They should pull together and produce a unified effect without loss of motion, loss of money, loss of mutual understanding, loss of values, or loss of clarity of objective.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Cf. H. Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 395. The reader would also find the following references most illuminating: A. T. Burns, "Organization of Community Forces for the Promotion of Community Programs," *National Conference for Social Work*, 1916: pp. 62-78; E. T. Devine, "Central Council of Social Agencies," *Survey*, January 21, 1922, p. 624; Bessie A. McClenahan, *Organizing the Community* (New York, 1922); C. C. North, *The Community and Social Welfare* (New York, 1931), esp. pp. 293-322; W. J. Norton, *The Coöperative Movement in Social Work* (New York, 1927), esp. pp. 35-49; Rose Porter, *The Organization and Administration of Public Relief Agencies* (New York, Family Welfare Ass'n of America, 1931); A. E. Wood, "The Philosophy of Community Organization," *Pubs. Am. Sociol. Soc.*, XVII: 178-84.

## RECREATION AND THE PRESENT DEPRESSION

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THE DEPRESSION and the consequent unemployment has resulted in widespread enforced leisure. By leisure we usually mean the time-surplus after the necessities of life have been attended to. Leisure has been increasing for some time due to the reduction in the working hours per day and working days per week, the extension of vacations and holidays, early retirement, the extension of education, modern conveniences in the home, and the provision of ready-made commodities and services to meet the necessities of life. But never has there been a period in history during which so many people had so little to do as at the present time. It is estimated that 12,000,000 persons are now unemployed. Many of these are men and women in the prime of life. They not only face the problem of livelihood but also of how to spend their leisure.

From the standpoint of an unemployed person the chief problem is that of finding work. Not being able to find work, he faces the problem of obtaining the necessities of life for himself and his natural dependents, unless he is fortunate enough to have an independent income. But even though he may be able to meet the economic needs, there still is the problem of leisure. The average unemployed person does not know what to do with his time. From the standpoint of the community, the present depression has presented a challenge not only to create opportunities for employment but to give relief to the needy and to provide leisure time activities. Some stress that the all-embracing problem is that of relief. The cry of the

moment is for food, clothing, and shelter. But mere relief is not sufficient for "man does not live by bread alone." The problem of preserving the courage, morale, self-respect, and in the end the usefulness, of the unemployed is as important, if not more so, than giving relief and it is far more difficult to achieve. The psychological effects of unemployment are more disastrous than the physical ones.

Witness the case of one man whose resentment at sudden discharge from an excellent position was such that he sought other work—unsuccessfully, of course—in a very bad mood, devoting the rest of the day sulking. From inactivity and lack of attention to his appearance he soon took on a flabby and shabby appearance. The futility of looking for work while in this state of body and mind was obvious. Finally convinced by interested friends of this, he began to take advantage of recreational opportunities that cost nothing—to exercise, to read. His state of mind changed. Employers reacted differently to him. Rebuffs gave way to encouragement, and finally his efforts were rewarded.<sup>1</sup>

Wholesome recreation is more important in times of depression than during normal periods. Encouraging reports have come from many cities in which special recreation provisions are made for the unemployed. School facilities are being used for recreation as well as for adult education. Milwaukee, already noted for its school-centered recreation program, has recently established a new center known as the "Milwaukee Municipal Social Center" for the unemployed. Miss Dorothy Enderis, Director of the Extension Department of the Public Schools, states that "what we need is not a bread line, but a friend line!" Chicago has opened shelters for homeless men with provisions for recreation. The Municipal Men's Club of Los Angeles has made available additional recreational

<sup>1</sup> This case is reported by George Hjelte in *The Survey*, March 15, 1932, and reprinted in the Mimeographed Bulletin Service No. 2607 of the National Recreation Association, which organization has gathered and published a considerable body of information on recreation and unemployment.

space for the unemployed man. Park boards, playground departments, schools, and libraries, as well as private social agencies and community institutions, have put forth renewed efforts to meet the needs of the increasing army of the unemployed and their families.

"Through the use of funds designated for unemployment relief, parks and playground facilities have materially increased or improved all over the country, one of the by-products of the made-work relief method for unemployment," states R. S. Wallace of the National Recreation Association in the July, 1932, issue of the *Survey*. L. H. Weir, in a recent article on "Effects of Depression on Parks and Recreation Activities," *Parks and Recreation*, November-December, 1932, makes the following statement:

No quantitative statistics have been collected which would make possible a statement of the actual amounts of relief funds which have been spent in park and recreation improvements, but when these statistics are compiled it will be shown that on the whole parks and recreation departments have not suffered greatly by lack of funds for improvements.

The National Recreation Association, in the year-books of *Recreation*, reports that 945 cities had a total of 13,397 separate play areas and expended \$33,539,805 for public recreation during 1929. The report for last year shows that 1,010 cities had a total of 13,324 separate play areas and a total expenditure of over thirty-six million dollars.

The gains in recreation, however, are now being off-set by reductions in budgets and suspension of programs of expansion. New York City is postponing the development of new parks and playgrounds and the unspent portion of the \$25,000,000 appropriated for this purpose has been suspended. Detroit and other cities are operating under reduced budgets. Los Angeles has been fortunate

in that successful bond issues have yielded considerable funds for the extension of playground facilities, but the income of the Department of Playgrounds and Recreation of the city dropped \$100,000 during the year 1932. The Los Angeles County Recreation Department has suffered a 61 per cent cut in its budget since 1929-30. Public schools throughout the country have reduced the physical education and recreation budgets to a minimum. When school boards begin cutting budgets they usually begin at the recreation end of the program.

Curtailments in budgets necessitate reductions in personnel and maintenance. Salaries and wages have generally been cut. While there have been few losses thus far in superintendents and chief executives, many special workers and part-time helpers have been dismissed. Reductions in budgets mean that recreation leaders are called upon to carry on with a handicap at a time when public need and demand call for enlarged activities.

While budgets are being curtailed, the attendance is mounting. People not only have more leisure but they have less money for commercial amusements. For instance, the dance hall attendance in Los Angeles has been reduced about 40 per cent since the beginning of the depression. Not being able to afford commercial amusements, they turn to publicly supported recreation. "In most cities, recreation departments are finding their facilities taxed to the limit, as the unemployed, lacking money to spend on commercial recreation, are turning to the public recreation program of which they may have previously known only vaguely." (Recreation Bulletin Service No. 2520 of the National Recreation Association). The increase in attendance is due largely to increase of adult recreation. The attendance at all municipal playgrounds, camps, beaches, swimming pools, and other recrea-



tional facilities which are operated by the Los Angeles Department of Playgrounds and Recreation totaled 22,811,515 visits in 1932, which is an increase of more than 1,000,000 over the total of 1931. The Los Angeles County Recreation Department, which organization operates in the county outside the cities with recreation departments, reports that the attendance in the county recreation centers increased from 2,000,000 in 1929-30 to 10,000,000 in 1931-32, which was largely an increase of adult recreation; yet this department is called upon to carry on with the reduced budget as cited above. How is the need met? A statement made by Mr. Virgil Dahl of the above mentioned department may be taken as typical of the answers given by recreation leaders throughout the country.

The demand has necessitated an expanded program. Using the regular facilities, the expansion has been made possible by volunteer play leaders. Special activities are promoted, such as drama and cultural, mountain resort activities, sports of all kinds by organized leagues, and community programs in coöperation with the County Probation Department.

The recreation departments use volunteer leaders in order to make their budgets go as far as possible and to meet the demand. It costs less to train and use volunteers than to employ paid leaders. The Los Angeles Department of Playgrounds and Recreation has recently established a division for institutional recreation in order to promote and to coördinate the recreation work in the various institutions and social agencies in the city. Students are utilized as play leaders wherever possible. This gives them training, the institutions with reduced budgets can carry on their programs, and education can be vitalized by giving students contacts with actual conditions and practical situations. This type of volunteer leadership is an asset to the community, but a general use of non-paid

leaders, many of whom are inadequately prepared for their work, is not a permanent solution of the problem.

Private agencies face greater difficulties than the public recreation departments. Churches in many instances have discontinued their recreation work and have dismissed their ministers of education. Social settlements, being located in the most disorganized and poverty-stricken regions of the city and depending almost wholly upon outside support, have found it almost impossible to carry on. Character building agencies, interested primarily in the prevention of social and personal disorganization by developing personality and character, are facing the demand of an unenlightened public to cut their budgets in order to save money for relief work. The real problem is not whether we can afford to support them, but whether we can afford not to. Preventive work must go on even during a period of depression. Besides, these agencies can render a great service to dependent and discouraged people.

Assuming that the unemployed and dependent people need services other than financial relief, the writer directed a study recently of dependent families in one of the most poverty-stricken areas of the city of Los Angeles. All received aid from the County Welfare Department, totaling 983 families with 2,972 children and a grand total of 4,521 persons. Seven settlements and neighborhood houses in this area contacted 624 of these—but six types of preventive agencies contacted only 41 persons, making a total of 665 contacts. Eliminating duplications, only 628 different persons were contacted by these two groups of agencies. Unemployment and dependency plus a curtailment of educational, recreational, and character building activities will produce disastrous results in the end.

Adult maladjustments and juvenile difficulties may accompany a let-down of wholesome recreation; yet it must

be said in behalf of the unemployed that many are trying to make the best of the situation and use the enforced leisure to improve themselves by attending school, reading, and by participating in other available cultural and recreational activities provided by the community. Adult education, particularly vocational education, has increased very rapidly during the depression. While the traffic has not yet been upset in front of libraries, the circulation of books has grown. Mrs. Faith Hyers, of the Los Angeles Public Library, reported to the writer that since 1929 the number of their readers has increased 26 per cent and the circulation of books has increased 44 per cent. The increase in circulation is due largely to adult reading, since the children's reading has not materially increased. Adults are interested mainly in two types of books: (1) those dealing with practical subjects, such as trades and vocations, economic problems and financial conditions; and (2) philosophical and religious books, especially the former.

Our society is conditioned not so much by what people do when they work as by what they do when they do not work. Civilizations of the past have been made or unmade by what people did during their leisure time. The widespread extension of leisure in America is one of its chief problems. The education of people for leisure and the community provision of adequate wholesome leisure time activities are important tasks for the future.

## INCOME AND STANDARDS OF LIVING IN THE MINISTRY

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THE COMMUNITY demands that the minister maintain a relatively high standard of living. While educational standards for entrance to the profession are not uniformly so high as in the legal and medical fields, nevertheless the minister is ordinarily better educated than his parishioners and is frequently a graduate of both college and seminary. He holds, and the town expects him to hold, high educational standards for his children, who look forward to going to college as a matter of course. The tablecloth may not be of linen, but there must be books in his library.

In most fields of service he needs an automobile. His parishioners become disgruntled if he does not call on them. Yet his parish commonly covers ten to thirty-five square miles; and in Protestantism an urban pastor will need to travel as far to reach his parishioners as will the rural pastors—such is the effect of population shifts within the city. His name is included on every subscription list. No tramp passes his door. It is expected that he will be generous, and in many groups it is assumed that he will give at least one-tenth of his income to religious and philanthropic causes. Yet the ministry is regarded as a service profession and the salary of the minister is commonly below that of other professional groups.

To understand something of the practical aspects of the minister's (or perhaps it would be more correct to say the minister's wife's) economic problems, of which his pa-

rishioners are often unaware, a study was made of his income and expenditures for one year (any twelve consecutive months since July 1, 1929).<sup>1</sup> This involved an inquiry into sources of incomes and also into the types of expenditures as influenced by the size of the income and the number of members in the family. A questionnaire, that ubiquitous instrument of torture, was prepared, submitted to various persons interested in standards of living, and tried out on small groups of ministers to test its adequacy and its comprehensibility. It requested information as to the size of the minister's family, the various sources of his income, and a somewhat detailed report of his expenditures, many of the items of which are shown in Table II. Every effort was made to secure a representative sample by sending the questionnaires to all of the ministers in selected Conferences<sup>2</sup> of the Methodist Church, scattered from Maine to California and from Michigan to Florida. Approximately twelve hundred replied. Over a thousand of the returns were filled out with what the minister himself considered to be a high degree of accuracy, based on records and memoranda.

The distribution of incomes as shown by these replies may be seen in Table I. In practically all cases the income was larger than the salary paid by the local church, additional amounts being secured from investments, honoraria for professional services, earnings of the wife or children, and so forth. The income was considered as of greater importance than salary, since it would set the theoretical limits for expenditures and serve as the basis for the standard of living.

<sup>1</sup> The majority of the reports were for the Conference year ending in September, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> The area of the United States is divided by the Methodist Episcopal Church into 66 Conferences for administrative purposes. This does not include colored or foreign-language Conferences, which overlap the white, English-speaking Conferences. The questionnaires were sent only to pastors in white, English-speaking churches.



TABLE I  
DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY INCOME CLASSES  
SHOWING NUMBER HAVING DEFICITS

| <i>Income<br/>Classes</i> | <i>Number of<br/>Families</i> | <i>Number having<br/>Deficits</i> | <i>Percentage<br/>having Deficits</i> |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| \$ 999 and under          | 21                            | 11                                | 52.4                                  |
| 1,000 — \$1,499           | 144                           | 56                                | 38.9                                  |
| 1,500 — 1,999             | 282                           | 87                                | 30.9                                  |
| 2,000 — 2,499             | 266                           | 42                                | 15.8                                  |
| 2,500 — 2,999             | 125                           | 32                                | 25.6                                  |
| 3,000 — 3,499             | 81                            | 18                                | 22.2                                  |
| 3,500 — 3,999             | 39                            | 4                                 | 10.3                                  |
| 4,000 — 4,999             | 49                            | 12                                | 24.5                                  |
| 5,000 — 5,999             | 25                            | 2                                 | 8.0                                   |
| 6,000 and over            | 6                             | 1                                 | 16.7                                  |
| Total                     | 1,038                         | 265                               | 25.5                                  |

These figures represent cash income and do not include the allowance for rent, since in most cases the church supplies a parsonage. Although in the Conference records a theoretical rental value is recorded for each parsonage, these estimates commonly do not represent true values; therefore the rental factor was eliminated from the study in all cases. Where no house was provided and the minister paid his own rent, out of a cash income, the amount was deducted and the net cash income (total cash minus rent) was used for comparative purposes. The wide variation of incomes is a significant indication of the marked differences in standards of living which exist within the profession. These differences are made clearly evident in subsequent tables.

The incomes shown in Table I are, therefore, in addition to rent. The average (i. e., arithmetic average or mean) income for the entire group was found to be \$2,324, whereas the average salary was \$2,081. In contrast is the reported average net income of 6,328 representative physicians—\$5,250; average gross income—\$7,781. From

these latter figures should be subtracted the item of rent, to make them comparable with incomes of ministers.

According to the *Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1931*, issued by the Department of Commerce, the average hourly rate for union labor, in the trades listed by the Department for 1930, was \$1.25. Assuming a forty-hour week and a forty-week year, the average income for union workers would be \$2,000. In its annual study of salaries of office workers in New York State factories, the Bureau of Labor Statistics found that the average weekly earnings of men were \$49.34. Assuming a fifty-week year, this would mean an annual income of \$2,467. After deducting rent, to make this figure comparable, it will be found that this was somewhat lower than the average ministerial income, but about equal to the average ministerial salary. These comparisons are significant in view of the generally accepted opinion that professional groups are obliged to maintain a more expensive standard of living than are skilled workers.

Those making returns were asked to list their expenditures under three main heads, each one of which was further subdivided. Only the more important of these subdivisions are presented in Table II. Other items, including interest on indebtedness, cost of light and heat, house furnishings, telephone, and servants' wages, as well as miscellaneous expenses, have been grouped under the head of "Other Living Costs." Since the automobile is a professional tool, it was included with living costs. Before the returns were tabulated each questionnaire was carefully checked for accuracy. Where the income was in excess of expenditures, the difference was recorded as "Not Accounted For." If more complete records had been kept, such items would probably have fallen in one of two places: miscellaneous living costs or savings. Usu-

ally not accounted for were the wedding fees, which tradition demands be handed over by the minister to his wife; this is her "slush fund." Frequently the amount "not accounted for" was equivalent to the amount of the honoraria.

More significant than such "not accounted for" items were the deficits which were incurred by 265 out of the 1,038 families, or 25.5 per cent. These deficits were not evenly distributed, as will be noted by referring to Table I. Over half of the families living on a cash income of less than \$1000 ran a deficit in the year under consideration of \$109 on the average. With so small an income, a deficit of this size presents an almost insurmountable problem, as the years follow one another. Many of the men in this lowest income group reported that their salaries would be cut in the coming year. This can mean but one thing—great hardship for the family. It is worth noting that deficits occurred in every income group. Insufficient salary is not the only cause of deficits. In many cases the deficit was incurred to send children to college; not infrequently this heavy educational expenditure had been foreseen and savings built up at an earlier period to provide for it. The deficits incurred in the higher income groups were, on the average, larger in terms of dollars, than in the lower income groups. For example, in the class \$3,000-\$3,499 the eighteen families incurred an average deficit of \$264 in the year; and in the \$4,000-\$4,999 class twelve families incurred an average deficit of \$372. However, in these higher income groups, a deficit does not present the serious problem that it does in the lower groups, since the former are building up reserves in the form of insurance and since the size of their income leaves a larger margin above the bare necessities of life with which to pay off indebtedness.

Within a given income group, expenditures are influenced very considerably by the size of family. This influence is shown clearly in Table II, which presents the income and expenditures of 282 families, all of which received an annual income of between \$1,500 and \$1,999. The data cannot be presented for all sizes of families, because of space limitations, but the figures presented bring out the contrast. The actual expenditure as well as the percentage of the expenditure, is shown in each case. These percentages are based on the last item in the table, i. e., "Total Expenditure," and not on the total income. It may be pointed out that "Not Accounted For" items are not included in this total expenditure although "Deficit" items are.

TABLE II  
INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF FAMILIES  
WITH INCOME OF \$1,500 TO \$1,999

| INCOME AND<br>EXPENDITURES | No. in Family 2 |       | 7 and over |       | Total      |       |
|----------------------------|-----------------|-------|------------|-------|------------|-------|
|                            | No. of Fams. 63 |       | 18         |       | 282        |       |
|                            | Mean            | %     | Mean       | %     | Mean       | %     |
| Income                     | \$1,698.52      |       | \$1,680.05 |       | \$1,740.08 |       |
| Salary                     | 1,579.45        |       | 1,542.77   |       | 1,612.11   |       |
| Food                       | 338.28          | 19.8  | 592.61     | 32.7  | 426.28     | 24.0  |
| Clothing                   | 120.87          | 7.1   | 181.66     | 10.0  | 139.10     | 7.8   |
| Auto Maintenance & Purch.  | 259.28          | 15.2  | 278.38     | 15.4  | 272.63     | 15.3  |
| Medical & Dental Care      | 63.84           | 3.7   | 50.11      | 2.8   | 52.05      | 2.9   |
| Other "Living Costs"       | 416.77          | 24.5  | 356.62     | 19.6  | 395.90     | 22.3  |
| TOTAL "Living Costs"       | 1,199.04        | 70.3  | 1,459.38   | 80.6  | 1,285.96   | 72.4  |
| Benevolences               | 128.20          | 7.5   | 110.61     | 6.1   | 121.99     | 6.9   |
| Vacation, Travel, Amuse.   | 55.26           | 3.2   | 24.77      | 1.4   | 44.88      | 2.5   |
| Books, Mag., Tuition       | 49.19           | 2.9   | 73.60      | 4.0   | 72.85      | 4.1   |
| Other "Advance. Costs"     | 38.00           | 2.2   | 32.46      | 1.8   | 38.61      | 2.1   |
| TOTAL "Advance. Costs"     | 270.65          | 15.9  | 241.44     | 13.3  | 278.33     | 15.6  |
| Life Insurance             | 103.55          | 6.0   | 81.55      | 4.5   | 115.56     | 6.5   |
| Savings                    | 100.00          | 5.9   | 26.16      | 1.5   | 75.15      | 4.2   |
| Other "Investment"         | 32.18           | 1.9   | 3.06       | 0.1   | 21.13      | 1.2   |
| TOTAL "Investment"         | 235.73          | 13.8  | 110.77     | 6.1   | 211.84     | 12.0  |
| Not Accounted For          | 30.17           | 1.8   | 1.88       | 0.1   | 28.24      | 1.6   |
| Deficit                    | 37.07           | 2.2   | 77.88      | 4.3   | 65.29      | 3.7   |
| TOTAL Expenditure          | 1,705.42        | 100.0 | 1,811.59   | 100.0 | 1,776.13   | 100.0 |

As would be expected, there is a steady progression in the amount spent for food with the increase in size of family. Yet the increase is by no means proportional. While 20 per cent of the budget is spent on food for two persons (at an average of \$169 per year per person), in families of seven or more approximately 33 per cent is used (or \$84 per person per year). Even though cooking for a larger group is more economical, this fact cannot account for the wide variation in food costs. Surely \$1.61 is inadequate to meet the food needs of one person for a week. Further, it should be remembered that this is the average expenditure and not the lowest. Although food costs were kept at this low point, practically one-third of the entire income went for food in families of seven or more members. There is an even more marked reduction in per capita expenditure for clothing as one goes from the small families to larger families. In families of two, the average expenditure was \$60 per person per year for wearing apparel; in families of three, \$44; in families of five, \$31; and in families of seven or over, \$26.

Obviously a certain hardship is entailed in membership in a large family and the economic pinch is inevitably felt by all members of the family. Still more striking are the average expenditures for medical and dental care. Doubtless, much professional courtesy is extended to ministers and their families, especially where the family is large, by members of the medical profession. Certain items such as automobile maintenance and gas and light appeared to be fairly definitely fixed. Living costs are from \$150 to \$300 higher in the larger families than in the small families. This difference must be made up elsewhere; and the attempt to balance the budget must be made by cutting down on such things as travel, amusements, and savings. But even this does not prevent a



deficit in a high percentage of cases. For example, in two-member families, \$103 was paid for life insurance, whereas in families of seven or more the premium was only \$81. In the latter case more protection is needed and less can be provided. In this latter group there were almost no savings apart from life insurance. This means that a decrease in salary would jeopardize the relatively small amount of insurance carried.

Twelve of the 63 two-member families reported deficits, averaging \$195 for those having a deficit. If the total deficit is spread over all members in this particular group, it would average \$37. On the other hand, 8 out of the 18 families having seven members or more ran an average deficit of \$175. If spread over the entire 18 families the deficit would amount to \$78 per family. A detailed study of this table will show how great an influence the size of family exercises on the standard of living. Size of family is even more important in influencing consumption standards where the income is lower. A further startling fact is that the average deficit for all reporting seven-member families was three-fourths as large as the average total investment. To put it in a different way, the average net saving for these 18 families was slightly less than \$33 for the whole year. Certainly this is no adequate protection against serious illness, death of the breadwinner, or old age.

Neglecting the differences in size of family, Table III was prepared to show the percentage of average expenditure for each of three income groups and also the average for the entire 1,038 cases. The figures for an additional group are presented in the righthand column of Table II. The 144 families in the \$1,000-\$1,499 income class spent on an average \$1,355, and incurred an average indebtedness of practically \$94. This deficit was in excess of seven per

cent of the total income. To operate the following year without any deficit would appear to be difficult in the light of these returns, but to operate without a deficit and pay off the deficit incurred in this year would be well-nigh impossible.

TABLE III  
EXPENDITURES OF FAMILIES IN VARIOUS INCOME GROUPS  
BY PER CENT

| EXPENDITURES                | Income Class | \$1,000-<br>1,499 | \$2,000-<br>2,499 | \$4,000-<br>4,999 | Total |
|-----------------------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------|
|                             | No. of Fams. | 144               | 266               | 49                | 1,038 |
| Food                        |              | 26.5              | 22.3              | 15.5              | 21.4  |
| Clothing                    |              | 7.3               | 7.2               | 8.1               | 7.6   |
| Auto Maintenance & Purchase |              | 15.1              | 12.8              | 11.5              | 12.6  |
| Medical and Dental Care     |              | 4.4               | 3.0               | 2.8               | 2.9   |
| Other "Living Costs"        |              | 21.5              | 22.0              | 22.7              | 21.4  |
| TOTAL "Living Costs"        |              | 74.8              | 67.3              | 60.7              | 65.9  |
| Benevolences                |              | 6.7               | 7.7               | 8.9               | 8.0   |
| Vacation, Travel, Amuse.    |              | 2.2               | 2.9               | 3.7               | 3.2   |
| Books, Mag., Tuition        |              | 4.0               | 4.4               | 5.0               | 4.9   |
| Other "Advancement Costs"   |              | 2.1               | 3.2               | 2.9               | 2.8   |
| TOTAL "Advance. Costs"      |              | 15.0              | 18.2              | 20.5              | 18.9  |
| Life Insurance              |              | 6.3               | 7.1               | 8.6               | 7.2   |
| Savings                     |              | 3.1               | 6.2               | 8.0               | 6.5   |
| Other "Investment"          |              | 0.8               | 1.2               | 2.2               | 1.5   |
| TOTAL "Investment"          |              | 10.2              | 14.5              | 18.8              | 15.2  |
| TOTAL Expenditures          |              | 100.0             | 100.0             | 100.0             | 100.0 |

By far the largest item in the budget (rent being excluded, as noted above) was food, constituting 26.5 per cent of the total expenditures. Yet the food costs averaged merely one dollar per day. In the group with incomes under \$1,000, food for the year cost \$257, or 31 per cent of the total expenditure. As has been found to be the case in other studies, as income increases the amount spent for food also increases, but the percentage declines until, in the highest income class shown in Table III, the

average expenditure for food was \$695, which constituted, however, only 15.5 per cent of the total expenditures. In families receiving \$6,000 or over, the average expenditure for food was \$857, or 12.7 per cent of the total expenditures. This was more than three times the average expenditure for food in the lowest income class. Maintaining an automobile is an expensive luxury or necessity (depending on whether one uses it as a professional tool, or not). Over 95 per cent of the ministers had automobiles, and the average expenditure for auto maintenance was high, amounting, in families receiving an income of less than \$1,000, to \$154. To this should be added "average payment for new or second-hand car" in the given year, \$17. In the first income class presented in Table III, automobile maintenance and purchase consumed in excess of 15 per cent of all expenditures, or, to put it another way, the average minister spends more keeping his automobile running than for all advancement costs, and almost 50 per cent more than for all savings and investments. This is the one item in the budget which appears to be excessive.

Certain traditions persist in the ministry. The minister must not be penurious. While the average expenditure for benevolences (this, of course, does not include personal gifts) does not come up to the Biblical standard of a tenth, it is nevertheless extraordinarily high in comparison with other professional groups, and constitutes a sizable proportion of the budget. The average for all reporting cases was \$188, or 8 per cent. Benevolences were uniformly higher than life insurance payments. The minister's family also uses books and magazines. In all income groups about 2.4 per cent of the income was spent for reading materials. In the lower income groups more was spent for such cultural values than for vacation, travel, and amusements.

Life insurance and other savings rise rapidly both in amount and in percentage of expenditure, with increase in the size of income, until in the \$4,000-\$4,999 class the total investment of 19 per cent of the income, or \$839, is larger than the total income of the 21 families in the lowest income group (\$796).

An ever-increasing number of men in the ministry are becoming convinced that the wide variation in salary and therefore in income is not in harmony with the ideals of brotherhood which are traditionally associated with the profession. This conviction has registered itself in some Conferences in the development of plans for salary adjustment. One such plan was developed as early as 1908. In the main this plan consists in levying a tax on each minister in proportion to his salary. The fund thus obtained is used to raise low salaries to a minimum level. In most of the areas the contributions to the fund are made voluntarily.

All Conferences have pension plans. The pension varies with the financial reserves of the Conference and also with the length of service of the minister. In the event of the minister's death, payment is also made to the minister's widow. Due to the present economic situation, it is sometimes impossible to pay the full established rate, for the minister inevitably shares in the economic vicissitudes of his constituency.

It is evident that the minister has far greater security than the average industrial worker. And yet, in spite of all that the profession has done to give increased economic security, the situation is far from ideal and many ministerial families face actual want and penury.

# CARTOONS AS A MEANS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

EDNA HINES

*Chicago*

## DEFINITION AND SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CARTOON

A CARTOON is the expression of an idea in symbolic or picture form. It is one of the oldest vehicles for the exchange of thought. Cartoons may be called picture editorials, and as such they influence countless numbers of persons each day in defining the situation for them, in shaping their prejudices, in portraying their fears, and in creating stereotypes. They are sensed at a glance; their swift message is exactly in accord with the spirit of the age.

The cartoon is one of the most powerful instruments for the up-building or the suppression of private and public ambitions that is permitted to exist under the sacred and inviolable protection of the freedom of the press.<sup>1</sup>

A cartoonist may express what the editor dare not write; he can sway public opinion and can direct the public finger of withering contempt, while on the other hand, he can uplift the remotest personality and give publicity almost beyond belief.<sup>2</sup>

Cartoons use what is known as "the universe of discourse" in making their appeal. That is, they take the common, everyday happenings of life that people participate in, understand, and appreciate, and build the cartoon around these, using phrases and words that are known and used in the language of the people. For example, when an exhibit of Louis Raemaekers' cartoons was shown in America at the beginning of the World War, the Baltimore

<sup>1</sup> James Campbell Cory, *The Cartoonist's Art* (Chicago: Prang Company, 1920), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*



Sun commented thus: "No orator in any tongue has so stirred the human soul to unspeakable pity and implacable wrath as this Dutch artist in the universal language which his pencil knows how to speak."<sup>3</sup>

Cartoons are an important form of propaganda because through their vivid, compact, attention-getting quality they are potent in the shaping and swaying of public opinion.

In dealing with political situations and with the men and forces involved, the cartoonist finds his greatest source of inspiration and usefulness. Satire is his strongest weapon, and if keenly directed, he can give his victim a more deadly thrust in one simple but deftly pointed and extensively circulated drawing than can the writer of a dozen articles. No one can portray in words the sinister hypocrisy of a politician as a cartoonist can blazon it in a well thought out and strongly executed picture. Where one voter reads an editorial many see and appreciate the cartoon.<sup>4</sup>

#### OTHER FORMS OF PICTURE WRITING CONTRASTED WITH THE CARTOON

Another form of picture writing is the caricature.

A caricature is an exaggerated character study of an individual. In it are emphasized the subtle points of difference between the subject and his fellowmen. The true caricaturist makes a keen analysis of his subject, discovers those points of individuality which exist in every human being and then draws those characteristics in italics, as it were.<sup>5</sup>

William Auerbach Levy, a noted caricaturist, has said, "Rarely do people like caricatures of themselves. For some strange reason they prefer to laugh at the other fellows. Men usually preface their posing with, 'Please don't be too cruel.'"<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Raemaekers, *Kulture in Cartoons*, (Century Company, 1917), Foreword.

<sup>4</sup> Cory, *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Levy, "Where Caricature Succeeds," *Literary Digest*, 87: 25.

Cartoons are not always drawn from real life. Cartoons must be timely, but caricatures need not be. A caricature of Lincoln is as interesting to the people of today as it was when it was drawn. Cartoons of Lincoln's time are probably of no interest to the average individual because the events portrayed are no longer vital in present day affairs.

An accurate pictorial representation of any person is a portrait. John Singer Sargent has stated that "a thoroughly successful and satisfying portrait must be, in a modified sense, a caricature."<sup>7</sup>

The advertisement is another form of picture writing. Its purpose is to call the attention of the public to the merits of an article in order to influence people to buy. Posters were the first forms of advertisement. In the Louvre in Paris is a poster dating back to 146 B.C. It pictures the escape of two slaves from the city of Alexandria, and offers a reward to anyone who should discover their hiding place. Advertising is one way of capturing the public mind, but it does not usually get results by provoking discussion.

A comic is also a form of picture writing. The true comic does not teach; it portrays a situation which is humorous to the public. The cultural group to which one belongs usually defines the comic for the individual. Roughly speaking, a humorous situation is one in which there is an unusual or unexpected departure from the group standard or an unexpected conformity to it.

There are many types of cartoons, including those which portray events of the day which are of national or local importance such as a widely discussed bank robbery, a flood, a fire, a great labor movement, declaration of war, the death of a national figure, commemoration of a historic event.

<sup>7</sup> Cory, *Ibid.*, p. 34.

## THE RISE OF THE CARTOON

The gods and goddesses of the Greeks were the targets for the ridicule of that people. A fragment of papyrus, containing a fine specimen of Egyptian caricature, is one of the few remaining traces of Egyptian art.

Political cartoons began to appear in the seventeenth century; and since religion was a vital part of the culture, all sects, creeds and "isms" came in for their share of ridicule. Quakers and Baptists came into prominence. The Jews made protests through the cartoon for their rights.

"The Age of Caricature" has been the title applied to the eighteenth century, for in both literature and art, satire is predominant. Mr. James Gillray was a representative caricaturist of that century. It is said of him that,

There is scarcely an incident, a fashion, or a folly that he has not illustrated, scarcely a public personage that he has not portrayed, and all with such power, such remorseless cruelty, that we hesitate whether to marvel or to shudder at his genius.<sup>8</sup>

Journalism and the cartoon united forces in the early nineteenth century in France. Between the time of the Revolution and the Civil War, the cartoon in America found an outlet through colored prints intended for framing and through stamped envelopes showing current topics. Just before the Civil War the political cartoon became the most popular form.

Nast's cartoons, like those of his great contemporary Joseph Keppler, the founder of *Puck*, and almost all others of the nineteenth century, were personal, and although often rightly so, abusive. This tradition still influences American cartoonists, for there are probably more cartoons drawn concerning personalities than concerning abstract issues.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> George Paston, *Social Caricature in the 18th Century* (36 Essex St.w.c., London: Methuen and Company, 1905), p. 111.

<sup>9</sup> Lawrence F. Schaffer, *Children's Interpretations of Cartoons* (Bureau of Publications. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1930), p. 2.

## THE POLITICAL CARTOON AS A SOCIAL CONTROL

The political cartoon is an illustration of history in the making. Political cartoons exercise, perhaps, more of a social control than any other type of cartoon. A social control means that society defines the situation and through such agencies of group life as propaganda, newspapers, theaters, folkways, mores, and all forms of public opinion, forces the individual to conform to that definition. It involves restriction and taboo.

The following examples illustrate the use of the political cartoon as a social control.

Marcy, the author of the expression, "To the victor belong the spoils," appeared in the cartoons of his day with a patch on his trousers marked "50¢." This was based on the report that he had, while governor of New York, enclosed in a bill against the state for traveling expenses, a charge "for patching trousers, 50¢." His reason was that he had torn them while on business for the state and that it was the state's duty to repair them. The cartoon became famous and Marcy was known as "Fifty-cent Marcy." Later when he was up for reelection, the slogan came out, "Don't vote for fifty-cent Marcy; he will use the surplus for his personal expenditures." Marcy was defeated.

A cartoon which helped shape public opinion against Douglas appeared in the campaign of 1860. Douglas as a victorious cock in the pit is seen crowing upon the prostrate form of Buchanan after the Baltimore convention. Buchanan is saying, "Oh dear, oh dear, this is my last kick, I'm a used up old rooster."

Thomas Nast is acknowledged as America's greatest political cartoonist. He has been called the political Aesop of the United States.

In 1870 Tweed was ruler in New York. Nast in Harper's Weekly ran fifty cartoons concerning Tweed. He

pictured Tweed and his gang as taking with one hand the people's money and with the other dispensing doles of coal to the poor. He pictured Tweed as a money-bag and flaunted, "Who Stole the People's Money—'Twas Tweed," in the face of Tweed's threats. "Let's stop them d——d pictures," Tweed is alleged to have said. "I don't care so much what the papers write about me, my constituents can't read, but they can see the pictures."

Nast's reply was the Tammany tiger. It tore the Tweed Ring to pieces. Only one member was reëlected, and all were indicted for fraud. Nast's cartoons were the chief agents in arousing the people of the state to the situation. Mass meetings were held and in the election of 1871 Tweed was defeated. In destroying the Tweed Ring, Nast created a permanent political zoology. The elephant was a quip at his own huge but timorous party.

In the Greeley-Grant campaign of 1872, Nast showed Greeley being thrown from his long-eared steed. His cartoons in Harper's Weekly held Greeley up to merciless ridicule. In the end Greeley was defeated by 750,000 votes in a total of six and one-half million.

A series of Charles Nelan's cartoons at one time appeared in the *North American*. In these the governor of Pennsylvania was represented as a parrot. These cartoons so incensed the candidate that he recommended in his inaugural address the introduction of a bill to limit the use of political cartoons. This is called the "press libel law." Put into words, Nelan's cartoons which caused the bill to be introduced asserted that the press was above the law and greater in strength than the government.

Max Beerbohm's caricatures of royalty found in the Leicester Galleries in London caused a stir in England. The newspapers assured the people that the pictures were a "complete misunderstanding of popular sentiment," and



yet thousands went to see them and laughed. His most famous is called, "Mussolini and the Kings." The Italian dictator is shown towering over King George and King Victor of Italy while Victor Emmanuel says to the British monarch, "He has worked wonders for my people. If you'd like me to lend him to you. . . ." Beerbohm represents royalty as condemned to walk beneath a striped awning on a crimson carpet from the cradle to the grave. His cartoons suggest that a bowing effigy might take the place of an emperor.

George Gross is a communistic cartoonist who in 1924 was hauled before the German courts on the charge of "wounding the moral susceptibilities of the normal person." His cartoons are directed against the enemies of the working classes and a socialistic deputy of the Reichstag undertook his defense.

M. Jean Veber's cartoon appeared during the World War in an attempt to show that the old quarrel of centuries between England and France was over. Napoleon is seen rising from the tomb crying, "Vive l'Angleterre."

In the recent campaign for mayor in the city of Chicago, one of the candidates had a miniature circus parade the streets as a means of publicity. A cartoon of ridicule immediately appeared in the newspapers. It depicted a circus tent. In the darkened section of the ring was the candidate clowning, but the eyes of the audience representing the public were turned toward the skilled acrobat, the other candidate, in the spotlight at the top of the big tent. So cartoons mark the rise and fall of the popularity of politicians. They control by direct suggestion.

#### INFLUENCE OF CARTOONS IN CREATING STEREOTYPES

By examining our own stock of mental images with the view of discovering how many of them have been drawn from the cartoon, we find many stereotypes. Some of these

are the picture types of Uncle Sam, Trusts, Big Business, Political Boss, The Public, John Bull, Little Father of Russia, Turk, the Republican Elephant, Democratic Donkey, Red, and so forth.

The following description shows how an abstract popular concept can be embodied into a cartoon and become a stereotype. J. Campbell Cory, a cartoonist, in speaking of a trust said, "He is supposed to represent the common enemy of the working people; he is to be viewed as the baneful blight of the toiler's hard-earned wage; the Mephisto of the universal drama of life."<sup>10</sup> So an abstraction such as a trust becomes a person and the cartoon shows him as a brutal, massive, vulgar individual.

#### CARTOONS AS A FORM OF PROPAGANDA

Membership in society implies susceptibility to the opinion of one's fellows. Religion, science, art, commerce, and industry are in a constant state of motion. Cartoons often give direction to that motion through the psychology of public persuasion. Occasionally the manipulation of the public mind entails the removal of a prejudice; but more often it builds on prejudices. War marks the ultimate crystallization of prejudices. War cartoons are a most forceful means of propaganda either for or against war. Perhaps Raemaekers was the supreme cartoonist of the last war. The following is quoted from the foreword of Louis Raemaekers' *Cartoon History of the War*, Vol I.:

Raemaekers sees in war no pomp and glitter, but only the burning village, the devastated home, the agonized women and children, the brave and faithful dead. By the intensity of his spirit he aroused the compassion and fired the anger of the world with his cartoons of the Belgian violations.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

Seen in the light of a new perspective, Raemaekers' cartoons are powerful in shaping opinion to outlaw war. No book on war can depict its horrors as vividly as a realistic Raemaekers cartoon. His cartoon entitled "The Ex-convict" is a slashing indictment. The inscription under the cartoon says, "I was a 'lifer,' but they found I had so many abilities for teaching civilization amongst our neighbors that I am now a soldier."

On January 29, 1915, the first zeppelin raid upon Paris took place. Twenty-four people were killed and over thirty were injured. With one exception, all dead and injured were civilians. Raemaekers made this the basis of a cartoon called, "The Wonders of Culture." Another one of his cartoons shows Death singing a spring song to a war-torn world. One of his most famous cartoons is of a woman chained to the wheel of a cannon. Bleeding, exhausted, desolate, one hand burned and blackened, she represents Europe saying, "Am I not yet sufficiently civilized?"

C. R. Nevinson was another cartoonist who showed by his drawings the accentuated brutality of war. One of his pictures depicts a child lying limp against the cobblestones, the victim of a militaristic gun. Another is called, "In the Observation Ward." It depicts the resultant mental destructiveness of battles.

Bruce Bairnsfather, another war cartoonist, exerted social control by a different technique. To quote from the foreword of "Fragments from France" by Bruce Bairnsfather: "Here is the great war reduced to grim and gruesome absurdity. It is a standing reminder of the ingloriousness of war, its preposterous absurdity."

Bairnsfather had the power of expressing in black and white the condition of the mind. "The Shell Hole" shows a fed-up soldier advising his comrade, "Well, if you know

of a better 'ole, go to it." "The Freedom of the Seas" is of a seasick Tommy saying, "I wish they'd 'old this war in England, don't you Bill?" "Directing the Way to the Front" shows two figures at the crossroads; one with a look of complete boredom is pointing beyond a shell hole and is saying, "Yer knows the dead 'orse cross the road? Well, keep straight on till yer comes to a p'rambulator 'longside a Johnson 'ole." Bairnsfather's cartoons are packed with human interest and humor, and humor when self-directed is recognized as a social control.

It is interesting to note that Soviet Russia makes use of cartoons to a great extent in selling its program to the masses. These cartoons use capitalism, alcohol, and the church as favorite targets. One of the most powerful cartoons of soviet propaganda is called "The Fighting Call of the Proletariat." It is of a workman bridging the chasm of industry. Arms outstretched, he shouts the flaming battlecry, "Arise, world branded with a curse." "For and Against" was another soviet cartoon. Advancing arm in arm, are depicted the church and the "slavering beast of capitalism"; but coming to the rescue of the régime is a cloud of Red banners, and the bayonets of the workers. One has only to look at the cartoons in a magazine such as the "New Masses" to realize their influence in the creation of class prejudices.

During the period when the people were aroused by the so-called Japanese invasion and were demanding restrictive immigration laws, a cartoon entitled, "The Yellow Peril," appeared. It is a splendid example of the use of stereotypes in arousing race prejudice. It shows a Chinaman standing so that his body shapes a question mark. His hands, wrinkled and grasping, have sharp talons for nails; his face is wizened and sinister.

It is a well known fact that a cartoon of a poverty-stricken home, a rickety, undernourished baby, or a city

bread-line will do more toward raising a relief fund than a hundred well-worded letters of appeal.

One reason for the powerful influence of the cartoon is that it is so widespread. Thousands of people who know very little of the situation in India have flipped open their papers and have been amused at the cartoon of Gandhi twisting the Lion's tail; yet at the same time they have sensed its significance. So cartoons continue to be barometers of welfare and in our group life they are a means of social control.



## MEASURING PUBLIC OPINION

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IN DEVISING a way to measure public opinion it is wise to begin with small definable groups. This study is in reality an attempt to measure group opinion in the belief that the technique in modified form may be applied to large-scale public opinion.

At present we measure public opinion in a democracy through voting. Voting, however, is very simple and is not very enlightening concerning the attitudes of the people. We need a device which will indicate (1) how definitely persons are on the affirmative or negative side of a question, (2) how many are lukewarm on each side, (3) how many have too little information to vote, (4) how many have information but are deadlocked in their attitudes, and (5) what changes in each of the foregoing four particulars occur in the course of a stated time. Can such a device be kept simple enough so that it may be extensively employed?

Voting yes or no is the simplest method of recording group opinion. It is too simple, for it reduces choice to one of only two possibilities. The question may be raised, therefore, can a method of recording group opinion be devised which will give group members opportunity to choose between more than two possibilities and yet which will be practical enough to be of general or public use?

To this end an eight-choice scale has been devised. This scale, together with the instructions that accompany it, is as follows:

## I

## INSTRUCTIONS

*Instructions:* Do not sign your name. Give yourself entire freedom in marking the questions. Mark each question with *one* of the following signs:

| +3               | +2                 | +1                   | 0                    | ⊖                                      | -1                   | -2                 | -3               |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--|----------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Very<br>positive | Fairly<br>positive | Somewhat<br>positive | Have no<br>knowledge | Have<br>knowledge<br>but<br>deadlocked | Somewhat<br>negative | Fairly<br>negative | Very<br>negative |

It is believed that three positive choices (or three negative choices) are as many choices as the ordinary person can discriminate between with any significant degree of skill.<sup>1</sup> Two zero choices are given—one denoting absence of knowledge and the other (indicated by a zero cut in half by a horizontal line) signifying knowledge but with both sides of a question equally strong in the voter's judgment.

For illustrative purposes 10 sample questions are given which have been submitted to a graduate Seminar in Public Opinion numbering 20 persons (Group A), and to 50 members of an undergraduate class in Social Psychology (Group B). These questions were:

<sup>1</sup> Experiments to test this point have been conducted by H. Earl Pemberton, Fellow in Sociology, University of Southern California, under the writer's direction, and are published in the article which follows this one.

## II

## SAMPLE PROPOSITIONS

- 1.(Mark here).....The U. S. should join the League of Nations with safeguarding reservations.
- 2.....The U. S. has carried a high tariff policy too far.
- 3.....The U. S. should give the Philippines their independence within two years.
- 4.....The U. S. should officially recognize Soviet Russia.
- 5.....The U. S. should modify its legislation to allow the sale of wine and beer through privately owned and operated saloons.
- 6.....The U. S. should establish a Department of Education with a Secretary of Education.
- 7.....Catholics, Jews, and Protestants in the U. S. should have a strong joint Commission on Social Welfare presenting a united front on certain economic and social questions.
- 8.....The U. S. should make motion pictures a public utility regulated by a Federal Commission.
- 9.....The U. S. should adopt a general two per cent sales tax.
- 10.....A state controlled unemployment insurance reserve fund in industry is desirable in the United States.

All plus and minus 3 votes are counted as 3, plus 2 and minus 2 votes as 2, plus 1 and minus 1 as 1, zero votes as 0. All plus votes are added together; likewise all minus votes. The smaller total is subtracted from the larger and divided by the total number of voters. The result is the Group Opinion Quotient and may be either a plus or minus number and may range through 0 from plus 3 to minus 3.

If all the voters are "very positive" on the affirmative side of a question the G.O.Q. would be +3. If all are "very negative," the G.O.Q. would be -3. If no one has any knowledge or if all are deadlocked the G.O.Q. would be 0.

The Group Opinion Quotient is indicative concerning attitudes for it shows something regarding seriousness of feeling. It forecasts action or probable inaction. Votes count most which are most decisive; least, when indecision (due either to each of knowledge, or a deadlocked state of mind) obtains.

TABLE I  
GROUP OPINION QUOTIENTS

| <i>Questions</i> | <i>Groups</i> | +3 | +2 | +1 | 0  | Θ | -1 | -2 | -3 | G.O.Q. |
|------------------|---------------|----|----|----|----|---|----|----|----|--------|
| 1                | A             | 4  | 7  | 7  | 0  | 1 | 0  | 0  | 1  | +1.50  |
|                  | B             | 16 | 15 | 10 | 0  | 1 | 1  | 1  | 6  | +1.34  |
| 2                | A             | 9  | 5  | 3  | 1  | 0 | 0  | 0  | 2  | +1.70  |
|                  | B             | 13 | 9  | 14 | 5  | 3 | 2  | 4  | 0  | +1.22  |
| 3                | A             | 0  | 1  | 4  | 0  | 3 | 4  | 4  | 4  | — .90  |
|                  | B             | 3  | 4  | 5  | 5  | 3 | 7  | 13 | 10 | — .82  |
| 4                | A             | 4  | 2  | 6  | 2  | 0 | 2  | 3  | 1  | + .55  |
|                  | B             | 6  | 11 | 8  | 4  | 4 | 5  | 3  | 9  | + .20  |
| 5                | A             | 0  | 1  | 2  | 0  | 2 | 1  | 3  | 11 | —1.80  |
|                  | B             | 6  | 1  | 1  | 0  | 0 | 9  | 3  | 30 | —1.70  |
| 6                | A             | 7  | 4  | 3  | 3  | 0 | 1  | 0  | 2  | +1.25  |
|                  | B             | 28 | 12 | 6  | 0  | 2 | 0  | 0  | 2  | +2.16  |
| 7                | A             | 14 | 3  | 1  | 1  | 0 | 1  | 0  | 0  | +2.40  |
|                  | B             | 25 | 7  | 8  | 5  | 3 | 2  | 0  | 0  | +1.90  |
| 8                | A             | 6  | 4  | 6  | 1  | 0 | 2  | 0  | 1  | +1.25  |
|                  | B             | 8  | 6  | 5  | 2  | 3 | 8  | 8  | 10 | — .26  |
| 9                | A             | 0  | 2  | 5  | 5  | 0 | 6  | 1  | 1  | — .10  |
|                  | B             | 3  | 5  | 6  | 21 | 2 | 6  | 3  | 4  | + .02  |
| 10               | A             | 6  | 6  | 4  | 1  | 0 | 2  | 0  | 1  | +1.45  |
|                  | B             | 15 | 14 | 11 | 1  | 5 | 1  | 1  | 2  | +1.50  |

The reliability of this group opinion measure has been calculated for groups of different sizes by H. Earl Pemberton. Table II gives the results for groups of 25, 50, and 100 persons respectively. The high reliability is partly to be accounted for by the rôle of remembering.

TABLE II  
RELIABILITY

| <i>Group Size</i> | <i>Reliability</i> | <i>Probable Error</i> |
|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 25                | .971               | .009                  |
| 50                | .973               | .008                  |
| 100               | .985               | .004                  |

The reliability was calculated in the following manner. The opinion scales were given by Mr. Pemberton twice to student groups, with an interval of two days between the first and the second testing. The G.O.Q. for each question was calculated separately for each testing. The G.O.Q. of identical questions in the first and second tests were correlated. This coefficient was taken as the reliability.

An examination of Table I is enlightening. (1) It not only gives an affirmative or negative vote on each question, but indicates the degree of the affirmative or of the negative answer. The Group Opinion Quotients reflect how strongly a group thinks either for or against a question. (2) Table I shows the questions about which the group is most in doubt. (3) It indicates whether the indecision is due to lack of knowledge or to a deadlock of opinion because both sides of a given question are deemed of equal worth. (4) Table I affords a detailed comparative picture of two groups (in this case A is a graduate group, and B is undergraduate).



# A TECHNIQUE FOR DETERMINING THE OPTIMUM RATING SCALE FOR OPINION MEASURES

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THE OBJECT of this study was to determine the optimum rating scale for a measure of group opinion. The opinion test for which a scale was desired is a series of twenty statements of possible legislative policy, for example: "The United States should adopt a general two per cent sales tax"; "A legal dismissal wage in industry is desirable in the United States." A rating scale was to be used by which those taking the test were to indicate the degree of their favorableness or opposition to the proposal. To clarify the problem we present a sample scale:

Mark each of the statements below with one of the following signs, indicating thereby the opinion you have with regard to the statement.

|                         |    |    |    |                      |                                       |                         |    |    |    |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|----------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|----|----|----|
| +4                      | +3 | +2 | +1 | O                    | ⊖                                     | -1                      | -2 | -3 | -4 |
| Degrees of positiveness |    |    |    | Have no<br>knowledge | Have knowl-<br>edge but<br>deadlocked | Degrees of negativeness |    |    |    |

Our problem was to determine how coarse or how fine a scale would give the highest reliability to the measure; that is, should the scale range from +4 to -4 as does the sample above, or should it be finer, ranging from +5 to -5, or coarser, ranging from +3 to -3, or from +2 to -2.

Previous studies in the measurement of opinion by the use of a scale have used scales ranging from two points as

high as five points each side of a neutral position.<sup>1</sup> No one of these studies appears to consider the relative desirability of different size scales.

A coarse scale is generally more readily used than a fine scale. Hence, the coarse scale was regarded as more desirable if its use did not result in too great a loss of reliability. Our problem was then to determine how coarse a scale we could use without lowering reliability beyond an arbitrary limit. This limit which we adopted was as follows: Loss in reliability permitted in order to make rating easier is the loss equivalent to a drop from .91 to .90.<sup>2</sup>

Our next problem was to devise a means for determining the reliability of the test. Four sets of the test of twenty items were made, each with a different scale. The scales were from +2 to -2, +3 to -3, +4 to -4, and +5 to -5. These tests were given to 450 students in classes at the University of Southern California. Each class was divided into four equal parts and each fourth given one of the scales. Two days after he had first taken the test, each

<sup>1</sup> See for example: Floyd Allport, "The Measurement and Motivation of Atypical Opinion in a Certain Group," *American Political Science Review*, (November, 1925); Harold S. Carlson, *Information and Certainty in Political Opinions: A Study of University Students During a Campaign*, "University of Iowa Studies in Character," (Iowa City, 1931), IV, 1; George Bradford Neumann, "A Study of International Attitudes of High School Students," *Teachers College Contributions to Education*, (New York: Columbia University, 1926), p. 239; G. B. Vetter, "The Measurement of Social and Political Attitudes and the Related Personality Factors," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXV (1930), pp. 149-89.

<sup>2</sup> This arbitrary limit was adapted from Percival M. Symonds. See his "On the Loss of Reliability in Rating Due to Coarseness of the Scale," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 7: 456-460 (1924). P. 457: "One will tolerate more of a loss in reliability when the reliability is low to start with than when the reliability is high. It is very much easier to raise a reliability of .30 to .31 than of .90 to .91. Every gain in reliability above .90 is very valuable. The real criterion for this is the coefficient of alienation which indicates improvement in estimate over a random estimate. This improvement is rapid as correlation coefficients go above .90. Let us assume that for the purpose of rating we are willing to lose a reliability of not more than .01 when the true reliability is .91. This arbitrary unit is reasonable, for generally we are satisfied for ordinary purposes with reliabilities over .90. This corresponds to a change of coefficient of alienation of .0213. Hence a drop from .91 to .90 is equivalent to a drop in reliability from .205 to .00, .228 to .10, .285 to .20, .361 to .30, .446 to .40, .535 to .50, .627 to .60, .721 to .70, .816 to .80, .91 to .90, .9567 to .95."

student was given the same scale which he had taken previously. When the tests were given for the second time, the purpose of the experiment was explained to the students. Instructions were given that these second tests were not to be answered by attempted recall of what was answered the previous time. While there was, no doubt, considerable retention of what had been answered the first time, this factor was regarded as constant for each of the four scales.

We then correlated the first answers of each student to items 1, 5, 10, 15, and 20 with that student's answers the second time he took the test. All answers on the same scale were used in one correlation. Four correlations for reliability were thus obtained. The results were as follows:

|               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| Scale 2 to -2 | : .75 ±.01 |
| 3 to -3       | : .82 ±.01 |
| 4 to -4       | : .791±.01 |
| 5 to -5       | : .796±.01 |

According to the criteria adopted above, the scale from 3 to -3 is most desirable for this test. This scale has a higher reliability than either of the finer scales. Since coarseness is more desirable than fineness these finer scales are discarded. The scale from +2 to -2 has a reliability of .75-.01. This falls .07 below the reliability of the +3 scale. This drop is beyond the limit decided as permissible for the mere purpose of making the rating easier by making the scale coarser. This limit for a test with a reliability of .82 is about .805.

While a scale from 3 to -3 is most desirable for this particular measure of opinion there is no assurance that it would be so for other tests. It appears probable that tests using such a scale plan should each be tested by some such method as the above to determine the most desirable scale.

## Book Notes

INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY. By CHARLES H. COOLEY, ROBERT C. ANGEL, and LOWELL J. CARR. Scribner's New York, 1933, pp. x+516.

BASIC CONCEPTS IN SOCIOLOGY. By DHURJATI P. MUKERJI. Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Co., London, 1932, pp. xviii+193.

THE OUTLINES OF SOCIOLOGY. By EDWARD A. ROSS, Revised Edition. Century Co., New York, 1933, pp. xiii+455.

The junior authors of *Introductory Sociology* have made selections from Cooley's *Human Nature and the Social Order* and his *Social Organization*, and woven them together with materials and analyses of their own into a new volume. While the product lacks something of the Cooley flavor it has the merit of being brought to date, with new illustrations and new syntheses of theory. New cultural data, ecological factors, and propaganda developments are added. The authors recognize the importance of keeping description and evaluation separate in a sociological treatise, although the procedure is not always easy to follow. The organization of the volume stands out clearly, but the logical sequence is not always clear. The general sequence runs as follows: Human nature, personality, community, public opinion, and institutions. The result is an exceedingly useful text.

Mr. Mukerji centers his attention on five major concepts, namely, progress, equality, personality, social forces, and social control. Social progress is defined as "the attempt to make social conditions—a set of indispensable means—congenial to the growth of individual personality." Equality is called a valuable asset of social justice whose function is to remove the "mental knots, thorns, and gnarls" of the adult individual. Personality is conceived partly as a self-contained entity, which cannot serve others until it has found itself. Social force is analyzed into four parts: preservation, affective dispositions, meaning, and interplay of the three factors already mentioned. In treating social control, the author turns to practical matters, indicating that as long as religion holds sway in India, communism will not come into control in India. The author shows a

considerable acquaintance with American sociology while keeping an essentially East Indian philosophy of life.

The revised edition of Professor Ross' *Outlines of Sociology* shows considerable remodeling. The reorganization of the chapter headings is extensive, following the new lines laid down in the revised edition of the author's *Principles*. New materials and a fresh wording of well-seasoned ideas are to be found on every page. Five chapters on as many "principles" appear instead of three. The "Tests" and "Challenges" increase the usefulness of the volume for classroom discussion. In the ten years that have intervened since the first edition appeared, Professor Ross' system of sociology appears to have stood up well, for the fundamental thought remains the same, although the structure and illustrations are extensively revised. Not the least interesting item about the book is the significant dedication to Professor Ernest R. Groves, "initiator of the first college course in preparation for marriage."

E. S. B.

**ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES AND PROBLEMS.** Edited by  
WALTER E. SPAHR. Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc.,  
New York, 1932, Vol. I, pp. 655; Vol. II, pp. 627.

Sixteen authors have contributed to this work. Each has presented a thorough, well-organized treatment of a special subject in the field of economic life. Extensive as the book apparently is, it carries out its promise by actually summing up the research and experience of so many that a single authorship could scarcely compete with it. Besides, comparative theories or views are brought up to date and coördinated. The thirty-five chapters are like so many essays, all belonging to a unified economic treatise. Data characteristic of principles of economics are included to give a comprehensive discussion of production, distribution and consumption, money, credit, banking, et cetera, as significant in the monetary and speculative system of the western world, but since it is primarily those interested in the sociological question who will be reached here, mention should be made of instructive chapters dealing with wages, employer-employee relationships, social insurance and other social legislation, and types of economic control. The style of exposition is not involved but clear and readable. A commendable feature is that the two volumes are indexed separately. There is available, also, a manual of questions and problems provided by the authors to aid in the study of each chapter.

J. E. N.



**WORLD SOCIAL ECONOMIC PLANNING.** Edited by M. L. FLEDDERUS. The International Industrial Relations Institute, The Hague, Holland, 1932, pp. xliii+935.

The subtitle indicates the general theme: The necessity for planned adjustment of productive capacity and standards of living. Numerous papers and discussions appear in English, French, or German as contributed to the World Social Economic Congress, Amsterdam, August, 1931. The several writers have international recognition in their respective fields. The subjects deal with the philosophy, technique, or practical experience in scientific management, stabilization, economic planning in theory and in actual operation in agriculture and in other industries, the problems of labor in a planned economy, the growth of world productive capacity, et cetera. Application is made to America, Europe, Russia, China, and other countries that have experiences to report and share. The economic service of the League of Nations, the economic policy of the international labor movement, and other international aspects are also included. A book of this sort is not merely informative on selected topics, but emphasizes how small the world has grown, so that problems that once might have been primarily national have truly become international in scope.

J. E. N.

**CRIME FOR PROFIT: A Symposium on Mercenary Crime.** Edited by ERNEST D. MACDOUGALL. The Stratford Company, Boston, 1932, pp. xx+355.

This volume contains a series of popular essays designed to sketch out the entire field of rackets, "high finance," usury and near-legal commercial exploitations. Approximately one-half of the papers were contributed by such sociologists as Cantor, Bickham, Thrasher, Davis, and Barnes. The discussion, however, is not based on research in most instances, and should be regarded simply as the prolegomena to the study of mercenary crime.

E. F. Y

**YAKSAS. Part II.** By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 1931, pp. 84.

Description and significance of selected art in India, and iconography of the Water Cosmology. The Yaksas are supposedly the Lords of Life, deities closely connected with the waters, although their habitat is terrestrial. They are represented as vegetation spirits directly controlling and bestowing fertility and wealth, or abundance. Illustrated with 50 plates.

J. E. N.

**THE MOUND BUILDERS.** By HENRY CLYDE SHETRONE. D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1930, pp. xx+508.

In this handsome and splendidly illustrated volume is set forth a detailed account of the great mounds of the Ohio Valley and a sketch of the probable origins of their mysterious builders (Ch. xx). The author is Director and Archaeologist of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. As indicated in the subtitle, his purpose is "a reconstruction of the life of a prehistoric American race, through exploration and interpretation of their earth mounds, their burials, and their cultural remains." This is done by means of a minute portrayal of the archaeological remains as explored at first-hand by the author and his predecessors in the center of that vanished culture, which has long fascinated the imagination of Americans, learned or otherwise. The illustrations used number 299, not including a very fine frontispiece in colors. All are of a uniformly high quality, and the exposition in word and picture is of a very high order of thoroughness. The resulting work will doubtless occupy a high position as the authoritative description of this culture as it exists in the evidences, preserved by time. These are imposing to the eye, and have preserved within themselves many other artifacts with a permanence that can be achieved only by the recesses of caves, as in Europe, or, as in this instance, by great mounds of earth, clothed by the turf and other vegetation of a well-watered by not torrential climate.

Dr. Shetrone's concluding summary, admirable for brevity and soundness of information, shows that the mound builders were probably "Indians," who entered by Bering Strait, went south to Central America, developed the temple culture, migrated to the Southwest, produced the pueblos, drifted into the Southeastern Area, produced the earth-mounds, and perfected them in the Ohio area.

C. M. C.

**A MANUAL OF CRIMINAL LAW AND CRIMINAL PROCEDURE FOR POLICE.** By ERNEST W. PUTTKAMMER. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1931, pp. vii+94.

This little manual is a significant step in the development of police training. It is simply written, comprehensive, and well designed in every particular for the use of laymen. The material is drawn almost wholly from Illinois practice. Teaching notes and review questions follow its subject.

E. F. Y.

THE BEGINNINGS OF TOMORROW. By HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER. D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, 1933, pp. xiii+310.

A NEW DEAL. By STUART CHASE. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932, pp. vii+257.

PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL ACTION. By EDWARD T. DEVINE. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933, pp. xiv+225.

DEGENERATE DEMOCRACY. By HENRY S. MCKEE. Introduction by LIONEL D. EDIE. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1933, pp. xii+143.

Dr. Miller analyzes the various social situations in Asia in a way not done before. He is convinced that Western civilization must understand the East, and view what is going on in Asia particularly with a sympathetic and comprehensive eye. Every social change in Asia affects the whole world including our little part of it. Japan, Korea, China, India, the Near East, one after the other, are held up before the sociological eye-glass and scrutinized with care and courage. Dr. Miller protests against the world-wide trend of proceeding by "social upheavals" and would substitute "reasoned progress." Our science and our energy have thrown us into a disgraceful mess. The road out is via "political and economic reorganization," "ethical revaluation," and "spiritual regeneration." You have to read the volume in order to appreciate it fully, and after you read it you will have a new interest in the Orient.

The author of *A New Deal* plunges in his characteristically vigorous way into an attack upon governmental laissez faire, pointing out its numerous and vicious evils. The diabolical results of a civilization that is built on "sixteen ways to make money," to the exclusion of more important foundations are made clear. Mr. Chase outlines a system of "control from the top" as being necessary, with emphases on economic planning, on a managed currency instead of a gold standard currency, on the control of investment, on unemployment insurance, on an augmented public works program. There must be a series of conning towers from which to regulate the nation as a whole. All the proposed measures "are related parts of one central project to build a sturdy bridge from production to distribution." If not always convincing, the author's ideas are interesting and deserving of careful thought.

Dr. E. T. Devine, well known for his activities in the field of social work, branches out into a discussion of world problems. He applies

to world issues the principles which he has developed in his study of problems of relief, charity, and social misery. He outlines comprehensive programs for dealing with war debts, tariffs, wars; he analyzes industrial democracy and centers attention on concrete problems such as poverty, disease, crime, and housing in world-wide terms. He concludes by stressing social ideals and religious citizenship. Common sense and social vision pervade every chapter. This is an excellent guide book to social action in a day when so many people and even nations are "going around in circles."

The author of *Degenerate Democracy* acknowledges a breakdown in the political life of the United States. This breakdown is nothing new but our prosperous economic life in the past has enabled us to "afford the cost of political incompetence." He pleads for a remaking of our political machinery but believes that economic recovery will be upon us before we get much done in remodeling our government, and that as a result of "prosperity" we will continue with our incompetent political set-up. Then will come another economic catastrophe sufficient to bring about a revolution, when sane evolutionary measures will be too late. He urges more governmental control in normal ways, thus avoiding a dictatorship. He urges national control of our wobbly economic structure. He advocates solving the unemployment problem at the point of encouraging saving in normal times. Along these three lines the author makes interesting suggestions.

E. S. B.

#### THE CONTRIBUTION OF RELIGION TO SOCIAL WORK.

By REINHOLD NIEBUHR. The Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. vi+103.

This volume contains the stimulating addresses which were delivered at the New York School of Social Work as the Forbes Lectures for 1930. Mr. Niebuhr has analyzed the resources and limitations of religion in social work, viewed both from the historical angle and as exemplified in contemporary situations. Religion is a source of mental and social health and motivates persons to devote their lives and resources to charitable endeavors, but it is more powerful in prompting philanthropy than in promoting social justice. Religion may be a cause of personal and social maladjustment. The religious factor operates both in the lives of social workers and in the total social situation with which the social worker must cope.

M. H. N.

THE ABOLITION OF UNEMPLOYMENT. By FRANK D. GRAHAM. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1932, pp. ix+98.

To the growing book-shelf on unemployment must now be added Professor Graham's short and vivid treatise. The conviction that his plan would "involve no break with our traditional economic and social institutions," causes Professor Graham to submit it. If tried, it might succeed, but in the face of a hundred other convictions of an equally impressive nature, the chances are that it will be tabled with these. Moreover, the outline is not admirably simple. Briefly, the plan provides for the organization of an Emergency Employment Corporation which would make contracts with existing producers to carry on production. Wage payments would be made in the form of consumption certificates, the basic value of which would be determined by, say, an hour's unskilled labor rate. These certificates would purchase commodities, and possibly be exchangeable for cash in certain instances. In this way, the production of desired commodities would be encouraged by the consumption invited by ability to pay. Commodities which moved slowly would be discouraged in the future manufacture, and those moving quickly, encouraged. Through the activity of the resumption of production would come ever-increasing employment, and the creation of new purchasing capacity. It will depend somewhat at least upon the subjugation of the profits motive, and that is no easy accomplishment, however desirable it may be. The plan is certainly worthy of consideration.

M. J.V.

THE CHANGING CULTURE OF AN INDIAN TRIBE. By MARGARET MEAD. Columbia University Press, New York, 1932, pp. xiv+313.

The struggle to maintain the old culture of a tribe (Antler) as against the influence of the white man, is here presented sympathetically. Disintegration under such impact, as well as steps toward reintegration, are examined for economic, political, religious, and other social aspects. The main feature seems to be the appreciation of the tribal woman's burden in these problems of maladjustment and change. Briefly, the book is a study in culture conflict and accommodation, and as such is a valuable contribution.

J. E. N.



## RECENT SOCIAL TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1933, pp. 1568. Two Volumes.

These volumes, together with a series of thirteen forthcoming monographs, are the results of a three-year survey by a body of distinguished scientists, which was undertaken at the behest of President Hoover. The committee undertook a difficult task but the results have more than justified the effort. The summary report, which is found in the two volumes under review, constitutes an encyclopedia of contemporary civilization. The reviewer has found it even more valuable than an encyclopedia. The main purpose of the document as the title indicates, is to show the significant social trends in modern society. It gives a picture of present-day conditions which may be used as a point of reference for years to come.

In the introductory statement is given a brief but pertinent summary of the problems of physical, biological, and social heritage.

The fundamental principles are that social problems are products of change, and that social changes are interrelated. Hence, a change in one part of the social structure will affect other parts connected with it. But the effects do not always follow immediately—an induced change may lag years behind the original precipitating change.

The hypothesis of "cultural lag" was enunciated some years ago by W. F. Ogburn, the director of research of the present survey, but as one reads page after page of concrete data on social trends in the various phases of contemporary life in the United States this principle is made more evident. Scientific discoveries and inventions have instigated profound changes in other fields. The machines of production, the agencies of communication, and many other discoveries and inventions have produced changes first in economic organization and social habits. The next set of changes have occurred in such institutions as the family, the government, the schools, and the churches. Somewhat later, as a rule, have occurred the changes in social philosophies and codes of conduct.

No student of contemporary society can afford to overlook the implications of this study. It is almost a tautology to say that the most important factor in modern life is social change. No true picture of our dynamic social order can be obtained without a due recognition of this fact.

M. H. N.

**THE GEOGRAPHIC FACTOR, Its Rôle in Life and Civilization.**  
By RAY H. WHITBECK and OLIVE J. THOMAS. Century Co.,  
New York, 1932, pp. xv+422.

The authors take a reasonable point of view. They do not claim that the geographic factor determines man's doings, but rather that it "influences" man. It is "only one" of various factors influencing human life and civilization. After this disarming statement the authors present a strong case concerning the extent and the strength of the geographic factor, considering the four "spheres" of the geographic environment (atmosphere, hydrosphere, lithosphere, and biosphere), climate, natural resources, rivers, plains, islands, ocean and mountain barriers. In the last chapter the authors discuss "Adjustments to the World Environment," but it is not clear why they draw examples from South America with which to conclude the book. The final observations indicate: (1) that while primitive man was engaged chiefly in accommodating himself to his physical environment, civilized man has been in part otherwise engaged; (2) Different peoples make "very different adjustments to similar natural environments"; (3) Certain adjustments are due as much to factors outside the geographic region (such as previous culture traits) as to the region itself; (4) Developments in a new region are usually due to the initiative that the newcomers bring with them; (5) On the other hand, certain physical environments are far more stimulating to man than others, and superior energy and initiative may themselves be due to geographic factors of long standing.

E. S. B.

**RECENTLY DATED PUEBLO RUINS IN ARIZONA.** By  
EMIL W. HAURY and LYNDON L. HARGRAVE. The Smithsonian  
Institution, Washington, D. C., 1931, pp. 120.

For the pre-Spanish Indian villages at Showlow and Pinedale in Navajo County, Arizona, also for excavations at Kin Tiel and Koppnyama with their Hopi affinities, architectural ruins and other material evidence of the culture of the several sites are not only well described but profusely illustrated with 27 plates and some 35 figures representing house or floor plans, pottery and stone ware, implements of stone or bone, et cetera. The tree-ring method of dating, devised by Dr. A. E. Douglass, is applied in the present instances.

J. E. N.

THE ARTS IN AMERICAN LIFE. By FREDERICK P. KEPPEL and R. L. DUFFUS. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1933, pp. xi+227.

This is one of the monographs to develop with further detail subjects that have been more briefly presented in *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, the product of Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends. The whole range of artistic expression—architecture, painting and sculpture, commercial design and advertising, music and dancing, theater and cinema, also educational aspects and governmental policies—is here surveyed from the standpoint of trends from colonial days to the present. It is shown how unaesthetic the early American people were, how they have been influenced by importations from London, Paris, Rome, and other foreign art centers, and how there has been experienced a process of normal evolution in the arts. There seems to be no reason why American life need not reach artistic parity with other nations. There has been inequality in the growth of artistic expression: architecturally, the skyscraper is significant; in music, drama, and the cinema, individuality and independence may be noted. One cannot claim excellence for all that has developed. There is at present an aesthetic unrest, a revolt against cultural poverty, but it cannot be predicted whether the expression will be imitative or original and creative. According to the authors the United States has no art tradition.

J. E. N.

THE GRAND SOCIAL ENTERPRISE. A Study of Jeremy Bentham in His Relation to Liberal Nationalism. By ELMER LOUIS KAYSER, Columbia University Press, New York, 1932, pp. 109.

The author shows how Bentham, who wrote so much on a variety of subjects, influenced other writers and men of affairs and thus worked directly and indirectly through others to achieve social reforms that were decidedly radical in his day, but now are matter-of-course, if not archaic. Bentham's liberalism and utilitarianism were of national significance, but more than that, he realized the importance of international mindedness. The extensive bibliography of Bentham's works and of books about them and about him indicate something of his contributions as author and reformer.

J. E. N.

SUN YAT-SEN, HIS POLITICAL AND SOCIAL IDEALS. By LEONARD S. Hsü, Ph.D. University of Southern California Press, Los Angeles, 1933, pp. xxiii+505.

Dr. Hsü has rendered the world of scholarship a valuable service in making this fundamental contribution to social science literature. He has produced a veritable source book of the life and writings of the courageous founder of the Chinese republic. He gives valuable background materials, including "the life environment" and "the basic literature" of Sun Yat-Sen. The one-page will of Sun Yat-Sen is a unique document, emphasizing as it does "the People's Revolution" and the need to work for freedom at home and among the nations. The forty-page autobiography of Sun Yat-Sen follows, beginning with an analysis of leadership: "The great men in our history have succeeded in accomplishing great work because it was in conformity with the laws of nature, with the sentiments of men, and with the trend of world progress, and because it fulfilled the real needs of their times." Perseverance must also be a quality of greatness, for in referring to the failure of a revolution in Canton in 1911, Sun Yat-Sen remarks, "This was our tenth unsuccessful attempt."

Parts III and IV are devoted to "the five power constitution" and "constitutional manifestoes," respectively, in Sun Yat-Sen's own words. The three concluding parts present Sun Yat-Sen's own statements concerning the doctrines of nationalism, democracy, and livelihood. When the reader finishes the volume he knows the spirit of the founder of the Chinese republic in a new and intimate way. The volume is a liberal and indispensable education in what the New China is struggling toward.

E. S. B.

SORCERERS OF DOBU. The Social Anthropology of the Dobu Islanders of the Western Pacific. By R. F. FORTUNE. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, 1932, pp. xxviii+318.

The author, who lived for six months with the people of Dobu, here gives a precise sociological analysis of their tribal organization. His sociological data are perhaps the most valuable part of the book, but his descriptions of the sorcery and magic practised by these people are particularly captivating. Thus we get a study of the effect of sorcery upon the private lives of these primitive Dobu people, and some of the best instances are in connection with their beloved gardens, for which special social organization and ritual are carefully noted.

J. E. N.

**CHILDREN WHO RUN ON ALL FOURS; AND OTHER ANIMAL-LIKE BEHAVIORS OF THE HUMAN CHILD.** By ALES HRDLICKA. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1931, pp. xx+418.

The author, probably America's leading physical anthropologist, gives the detailed story, with many photographic illustrations, of his thirty years' pursuit of this comparatively rare and interesting behavior in human youngsters. It began when he chanced to notice "an Indian child running like a little animal on all fours." Casual interest grew, as incidents multiplied, into a systematic inquiry, involving many interesting letters from parents, which are reproduced in the volume. Dr. Hrdlicka inferred that it is "in all probability, a remnant of the pre-human past." This is, of course, merely an inference, and involves considerable pure theory and hypothesis, but he did find, as a matter of *fact*, that "such children are as a class rather above than below the average." (p. 52). This evidently has reference to physical qualities. He then raises the question, "What about their mentality?" On this particular question, the work is more anecdotal than systematic, but he does say (p. 54) that "a large majority of the children who run on all fours are decidedly bright children, which is in accord with their above-average health and strength."

In his "Brief Summary and Conclusions" (pp. 92-93) the author avers that the habit has no connection with weakness or degeneracy in the child, and its practitioners are "physically and mentally healthy, strong, and even exceptional children." It is usually limited to the first eighteen months, begins and ends spontaneously, but may be resorted to later on occasion. Girls behave in this way more often than do boys, and it is more frequently found in the eldest child. No bad effects result. "It is in fact rather beneficial." The act is not to be confused with crawling on the bent knees, and it permits surprising speed.

C. M. C.

**SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY.** By PAUL RADIN. McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1932, pp. xii+432.

It is a unique book on anthropology which Professor Radin has produced, for he has allowed well-selected passages descriptive of the culture patterns of various primitive peoples in all parts of the world to speak for themselves. These concrete descriptive materials are carefully organized in terms of the organization of the state, of



law and custom, of economic and industrial life, of religion, and of literature and mythology. Topical headings help greatly in reading the descriptive passages. In the first chapter the author reviews ethnological theories succinctly and makes critical comparisons. Concerning the nature of primitive mentality, his studies lead him to agree with the view that the mentality of primitive people "is essentially identical with our own." The volume has the merits and also the teaching problems of a source book which in the hands of a skillful teacher, however, may stimulate a great deal of student thinking.

E. S. B.

**EDUCATIONAL YEARBOOK OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1930.** Edited by I. L. KANDEL. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1931, pp. xiv+544.

The expansion of secondary education, based on fifteen articles contributed to represent what is being accomplished in as many different countries, constitutes the problem discussed in the present yearbook. It is a study in comparative education. The countries selected are the Argentine Republic, Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Chile, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Poland, South Africa, Sweden, and the United States. All of these countries have something significant of progress in education to their credit.

J. E. N.

**THE BALANCE OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS. Vol. II. Eastern and Southern Europe.** By ROBERT R. KUCZYNSKI. The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1931, pp. xii+170.

It is shown that in some countries of Central Europe, like Austria, Esthonia, and Latvia, "the fertility of the woman is so low that, unless it rises, these populations are doomed to die out even if mortality were to decrease beyond reasonable expectations." In Italy and Poland and in several other countries the population is still growing, but the rate is slower than formerly. Fertility has decreased more than mortality, and this book shows that the decrease of fertility has not been confined to the nations of western civilization. Statistical data submitted are ample to yield comparative trends of population within the several countries examined.

J. E. N.

COMMUNICATION AGENCIES AND SOCIAL LIFE. By MALCOLM M. WILLEY and STUART A. RICE. McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1933.

The authors divide communication into three kinds: (1) that involving "the actual movement of human beings," or the transportation agencies such as the railroads, electric railways, motor cars, water transports and air transports; (2) the agencies of point to point in communication, such as the post office, the telegraph, cable, wireless, and telephone; and (3) the agencies of mass impression, or newspapers and magazines, motion pictures, and the radio. The treatment is factual, descriptive, historical (for the past two or three decades), and sociological, with emphases on social changes and ecological elements. The hypothesis is developed and well sustained that the great growth in communication agencies both in numbers and in extent of influence means that in certain external phases of life "there is increasing likeness throughout the breadth of the nation, yet accompanied by inward, subjective differences" that characterize local communities.

E. S. B.

HOLLOW FOLK. By MANDEL SHERMAN and THOMAS R. HENRY. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1933, pp. viii+215.

This is a study of five groups of people in the valleys of the Blue Ridge, and as readable as fiction. The authors show the effects of isolation on human culture. There are graphic descriptions concerning their religion, fear and superstition, music, work and play, love and morality, their attitude toward government and law. The relation between education and mentality as here presented ought to be of interest to behaviorists and those who fancy the so-called intelligence tests. In general, these mountain-folk, both adults and children, lack initiative, are backward and almost primitive in some respects, and live at a very low culture level.

J. E. N.

SCIENTIFIC METHOD. By TRUMAN LEE KELLEY. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932, pp. ix+233.

Dr. Kelley penetratingly attacks a few selected and fugitive problems in research methods. He assumes that there are four main methods of research. The first he calls dialectic or logic, which culminates in pure mathematics. The second is the experimental, which does not deal with dead or unique material, but includes successive attempts to secure similar conditions "coupled with a measuring of the failure of such attempts." Third, there is the historical

method, which must have a motive and even a bias of time and place. Fourth comes the "future estimations." "Forecasting is the youngest activity we are aiming to develop with scientific precision." The author refers slightly to "the conference method of finding the truth." He dismisses scales of mental measurement and the rôle of judgment as exercised in filling out questionnaires. He considers the questionnaire as a wayward and feeble child of science, but nevertheless an indispensable helper. E. S. B.

**CHARACTER.** By HUGH HARTSHORNE. Scribner's, New York, 1932, pp. xiv+367.

Dr. Hartshorne brings his wide research experience in character studies into excellent focus in this volume. In Part I, he discusses the types of character education now in operation, and also types of organizations definitely promoting character education. Part II treats the many theories of character in succinct fashion. In Part III a theory of character is developed, namely, that character is a mode of interaction, more particularly, of creative interaction. A man of character provides "for others the conditions through which they may themselves achieve selfhood, forgetting himself in this adventure into the creative life of the universe in which he finds himself always and everywhere at home." Especially significant is the chapter on the concept of "social function." Part IV is practical, dealing with the problem of "how to arrange the situations in which a child grows up in such a way as to permit him to function with increasing completeness in the life of the world." E. S. B.

**PROSTITUTION AND ITS REPRESSION IN NEW YORK CITY.** By WILLOUGHBY C. WATERMAN. Columbia University Press, 1932.

The object of this report is "to show the changes in dealing with the problem of prostitution in New York City which have occurred during the past thirty years." The writer traces the development of governmental action through laws and police methods in dealing with prostitution. This is followed by an examination and appraisal of the influences of privately organized groups of citizens interested in prostitution, of which the Committee of Fourteen is especially recommended. Of the changes which have occurred since 1900 the most outstanding ones are: the practical disappearance of street solicitation, the elimination of open houses of prostitution, the increase of first offenders, and the constant shifting of prostitution practices with the changes of law and vice versa.

## International Notes

*Edited by* JOHN ERIC NORDSKOG

IN GERMANY, von Hindenburg is now president in name only. The republican form of government with its constitutional provisions for legislation and enforcement seemingly has failed to meet current political needs; but let us not overlook the probability that it is not the form of government that is at fault so much as that other social and economic institutions are badly maladjusted, and the government in turn is affected thereby because it cannot be better than the dominant groups who control the people. After Hitler was appointed Chancellor, the vote of confidence by popular election was a landslide in favor of Nazi leadership and Nazi ideals, and it was easy for him to become Dictator. Immediately thereafter Hitler and his brown-shirt associates began the annihilation of democracy, or whatever existed of it in Germany. Hitler has learned well the lesson taught by other dictators, notably Mussolini, that democracy has failed. It would be nearer the truth to say that the ideals of democracy have been as yet beyond the comprehension of the people, and that democracy has not been given a fair chance. It means that the citizen has not realized what power and privilege he possessed in the suffrage, which, of course, entails a lot of responsibilities. The citizen of Germany as a Republic has been part and parcel of sovereignty; the citizen is sovereign; but it happens that the man who has for several years wanted to be dictator is the one citizen that, with his associates, has been able to exercise his will, and millions have followed him into dictatorship. And since Hitler's National Socialists and Nationalist allies polled 51.7 per cent of the votes cast on March 5, no opposition seems to stand in the way of the present government. Although the votes of the Socialists amounted to 18.2 per cent and of the Communists some 12.2 per cent of the total cast in the same election, thus comprising approximately thirty per cent of the aggregate, both parties are among those that have been doomed by the Hitlerites. An attack has been aimed directly at the

Jews, Communists, Socialists, and Republicans. It can easily be understood why the Nazis want to destroy such political parties: a dictatorship would in the nature of things be intolerant of opposition. Another thing: a dictatorship is apt to be militant in policy, and always opportunistic. Ordinarily a dictator has no set philosophy, theory or goal, no binding traditions; he does the expedient thing judged necessary at the moment, and he may borrow from any ideology as he sees fit. Hitler's first goal has been to end popular government under the Republican constitution. When on March 21, the Reichstag convened to sign its death warrant and in due form provided for dictatorship for the next four years, and also enabled the government to draft a new constitution, that first goal of Hitler was realized. What next, now that the spirit of opportunism is rampant in Germany? And what more could one want than the power to govern by decree? However, very few men are equal to such power of leadership as a substitute for popular legislation. From another angle, however, even monarchs or dictators govern by tolerance of the people in the final analysis, and in cases of oppression the people have times without number taken affairs of government into their own hands. Hitler with popular government is one thing, but Hitler without popular government is another. This writer has thought of the German people as capable of a Republic; that is why he will be especially interested in how Dictator Hitler will set about to rebuild a New Germany. Strange that his dictatorship must start under the old Prussian system, which had been rejected.

Federalism seems also to be doomed in Germany. Although the several states have been loath to give up their sovereignty, Hitler needed merely to decree, with the puppet-like endorsement of his cabinet, that henceforth the states shall be under governors who are directly responsible to himself. Important government posts are likewise to be subordinate to the Chancellorship, and the State parliaments are to be reorganized according to the election of March 5, so that there will be no opposition to Nazi policies. Hitler's second step of importance, therefore, may be expressed as the establishment of a centralized state with himself as the seat of authority. He now has more autocratic power than had the Kaiser or any other former king of Germany. To the degree that centralization is achieved in behalf of the dictator, the several states will on the other hand lose self-government and local autonomy. It is another blow at democ-



racy in Germany. Not satisfied with the control of federal or national legislation and administration, Hitler forces his powerful hand down into the channels of local government. He himself becomes the governor of Prussia, and as Dictator-Chancellor, dominates the other governorships. Thus he controls everything except the regular army which remains directly responsible to President von Hindenburg, but if the latter has indeed become a figurehead, whom shall the army follow?

ANGLO-RUSSIAN relations have been strained to the breaking point of late because of the arrest and trial of six Britons who were accused of espionage and sabotage while working for the Metropolitan-Vickers Electrical Company in Russia. As a result, the British have allowed certain trade negotiations to break or cease; the British envoy, Sir Esmond Ovey, was called home from Moscow to report on the situation; and a government bill to empower the Cabinet to declare an embargo against all Russian goods has gone through the process of its several readings. The Russians have proceeded with the trial regardless of the British attitude. Sabotage has been a real problem in Russia as concerning her own citizens, let alone workers from foreign lands; and any native or foreigner who commits such a criminal action there becomes subject to severe penalty, perhaps death. The English have challenged the fairness of a trial of these Britons in Russia; if the instances of espionage and sabotage had occurred in the United States, would the British also have questioned the fairness of a trial in this country? Apparently the Russian courts do not rate high in the estimation of the British, especially when British subjects are to be judged, but very likely similar attitudes would prevail among other western nations.

THE BRITISH are considering a trade swap with the United States as a means for adjustment of the war debts. It is not known what exchange of benefits may be arranged. However, it is not a bad idea that something be given for something. It might be in the nature of a lowering of tariff barriers, which would have to be mutual eventually; or there might be preferential trade measures. Pressure could also be brought to bear in favor of disarmament as a *quid pro quo* in return for further reduction or cancellation of debts. However, chiselling has already reduced them so much that the balance may seem a mere bagatelle in place of any sacrifice in armaments.

France is apparently getting in the mood to pay the war debt interest sum that was defaulted last December—about \$19,000,000. The default led to more international embarrassment than was anticipated.

THE DISARMAMENT conference at Geneva has had one plan after another submitted during its several meetings, and each time hopes have been revived for some worth while achievement. After playing with the new proposal, as a cat does a mouse, the usual fatality occurs. Recently the Italian Duce submitted a plan designed to keep a long peace in Europe, a four-power pact being the objective. At first the plan won some favor from France and England, but they have tended to cool. Germany under Hitler, with von Papen as negotiator, has been waxing more strongly in favor of Mussolini's proposal. These dictators must stick together. At the moment, however, a still later plan has been submitted by England, and Geneva's hopes have been rekindled. The proposal is that "a new treaty should reduce the fighting strength of France and other powers and permit Germany and her former allies to augment their military forces. The United States is also invited to interest herself in any breach or threat of a breach of the peace of the world, and to participate in diplomatic efforts to maintain international tranquility." The Kellogg pact, to which the United States is a signatory, would be fundamental to the draft in some form or other. In the United States, cartoons and editorials have reiterated the oft quoted views of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, who advised the American people to hold aloof from European trouble and alliances. However, with all due respect, it might be pointed out that the world has changed since our earliest presidents made their historic pronouncements. It is impossible for this country or any other to maintain a policy of isolation unless economic, political, and all other forms of international relations are severed simultaneously—an utterly silly suggestion unless by chance it might be effected against some nation that is violating the League Covenant by an act of war. Even under such extreme circumstances it has been difficult to bring about the isolation of a country by boycott or other act of sanction: witness, for instance, the doddering of the western nations with reference to the Sino-Japanese crisis, the futility of Article XVI of the Covenant, et cetera. Japan's withdrawal from the League is a pitiful gesture, and if any isolation occurs be-

cause of that step or because of her policies in the Orient, the result will mean more loss than gain for Japan. We ought to wake up to the fact that the present world is not founded on isolation, and internationalism is here to stay. Thus it becomes obvious that no proposal for disarmament could be realized unless all of the major powers would coöperate and share in the readjustments. Unfortunately, the United States would only confess to narrow nationalism by refusing to take part in a sensible plan for disarmament, and it may be added that in the World Court and the League of Nations whatever she has of limping association or membership ought to become fullfledged.



## Social Fiction Notes

ANN VICKERS. By SINCLAIR LEWIS. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, pp. 562.

There will be a host of good readers of Mr. Lewis' latest novel who will be shocked that Ann Vickers was a naughty girl at twenty, and a naughty woman at forty. There will be many who will undoubtedly gloat over the idea that Mr. Lewis has seen fit to take a hot spear and sear the sides of the noble profession of social work. And perhaps there will be those who will not sympathize with any writing which attempts to show that criminals are anything short of beasts. Certainly, the book is decidedly not for those who cannot digest strong meat. But for those courageous and contemplative readers who like to probe into the realities of the social milieu and discover whatever may be there, regardless of whether it be healthy or ulcerous, the book will afford a deep and lasting satisfaction. For there is no bigotry, no really unjust cruelty, no hypocrisy evident in the aims of the author. Without fear or favor, as usual, he can be depended upon to set forth that which he deems essential to exhibit.

To his picture of Ann, the modern woman, social worker and feminist, Lewis imparts a vital freedom that glows vividly. His

Ann is a human being, first of all, full and fresh with the demands of a healthy physique, and possessed of a passion which demands to live in the world without repression. Using her as a medium, Lewis, sometimes with bitterness, sometimes with indulgent kindness, plays a powerful search-light upon many of the most distressing of our social situations. Social settlements and their workers, penal institutions and their keepers, capitalism and its guardians, social clubs and their mentors,—all are scanned. Of the social settlements, Ann cries out that they are “cultural comfort stations”; of the leading penologists of a state, she learns:

. . . . in this enlightened district, they were rid of the barbaric notion of *revenge* against criminals. That was why they put a death watch on Lil Heziakiah, to prevent her from committing suicide and thus depriving the community of the pleasure of killing her;

and of capitalism, she had once heard that this was “the conduct of business solely for the private gain of the more foxlike human beings.”

Ann Vickers will probably be in for a “pretty time” at the hands of those who are staunch admirers of the cleanly starched calico traditions. Smug complacency is given a mighty voltage sent direct from a powerful dynamo. But it needs to be read and thought about, not shouted at!

M. J. V.

## Social Research Notes

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**JUVENILE RESEARCH ORGANIZATION.** The Los Angeles Research Council (reported in the May-June, 1932, issue of this Journal) has been merged with the Los Angeles County Coördinating Councils and will henceforth be known as the Juvenile Research Committee. The purpose of the central committee is to serve the councils by securing information relative to child welfare, to disseminate this information through monthly meetings and a two-page monthly Juvenile Research Bulletin, and to assist in the coördination of activities of the member agencies for the purpose of promoting better conditions for children. This organization has made numerous studies, such as the analysis of police radio car calls pertaining to juvenile difficulties, the recreation interests and activities of 1,040 boys and girls in Juvenile Hall, the standardization of reports of juvenile delinquency, the distribution of delinquents throughout the country and by areas, and the distribution of character-building agencies.

The Los Angeles County Plan of Coördinating Councils has been established as a method of prevention and adjustment of juvenile difficulties. More than six thousand children pass through the Los Angeles Juvenile Court each year and the Probation Department has four thousand of these under its supervision. The main purpose of the system of coördinating (community) councils is to discover delinquent tendencies before any serious offenses are committed and to adjust juvenile difficulties wherever possible in the communities in which they occur. Efforts are being made to strengthen the home and community influences that build character in youth and to adjust or eliminate those influences that may lead to delinquency. The country is divided into five districts each of which is further divided into units based as nearly as possible upon natural areas and communities. Each community is to have a local council composed of the representatives of agencies dealing directly or indirectly with juvenile problems.



Twenty such councils were organized during the first year under the direction of the central council, which is composed of representatives of the local councils and is under the general direction of the Juvenile Court and Probation Department. A full-time director of coördinating councils has been employed to supervise the work. While the local councils are organized in accordance with a general plan, yet each council has unique features and is directed by local leaders to meet the specific needs of its respective territory. The work is accomplished largely through special committees, counselors, clinical service, conferences, and by promoting and coördinating the work of character building agencies. The twenty councils have in their membership over 300 officials and influential citizens; over 500 children were assisted during the past year. While these councils are not solely responsible for the reduction of delinquency in the county, yet 496 fewer petitions were filed in the Juvenile Court during 1932 than during the previous year, the reduction being from 4,042 to 3,546 cases. The better understanding of the problem is possibly a more important accomplishment than the reduction of delinquency itself. For details concerning these councils consult a 48 page pamphlet on *Why Have Delinquents?* by Kenyon J. Scudder, Probation Officer, and Kenneth S. Beam, Director of Coördinating Councils, with foreword by Judge Samuel R. Blake, published (1933) by the Rotary Club of Los Angeles, California. The Juvenile Research Bulletin issued monthly by the Juvenile Research Committee contains reports of findings and accomplishments.

INTERNATIONAL RECREATION. THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL RECREATION CONGRESS, which met in Los Angeles July 23-29, 1932, have just (1933) been published by the National Recreation Association. One of the objectives of the Congress was "to provide an international exchange of information and experience on play, recreation, and the recreational use of leisure." The delegates came from twenty-five different lands and the papers which they read are full of concrete data concerning the extent and forms of recreation throughout the world. An examination of reports reveals vast differences in the recreation programs of the various countries although the popular forms of recreation have a tendency to spread from one country to another. The cultural background and degree of civilization, form of government, economic resources,

climatic conditions, and the mechanical inventions determine for the most part the leisure and recreation of a people.

The differences in recreation in various countries may be seen by examining the characteristic forms as found in such countries as Italy, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, England, America, Japan, China, and India. Italy promotes recreation through such organizations as the National Institution for the Utilization of Workers' Leisure Hours, which was created by the Fascist Government in 1925 and which now has organized every commune in the country, and the Italian Excursions Federation, which was founded in 1927, representing 16,000 societies. Germany has been hard pressed for funds since the World War but believes in large public expenditures for sport facilities. The Scandinavian countries have a history of more than a hundred years of gymnastics. Due to the cold climate during much of the year, skiing and skating are popular sports. Rowing and swimming, as well as cycling, are also popular. England has long been the land of sports. America is known as the land of play promotion and of commercial amusements. As one turns to the oriental countries a different picture presents itself. Japan has the most advanced recreation program. In addition to its traditional games of "Sumo," "Judo," and "Gekken," the country has imported baseball (which is now a national game), rowing, and athletics. Swimming in Japan comes out of the pre-historic past. China and India are belated in their recreation program although the periodic festivals and feasts and holidays provide cheer and relaxation. But Mexico is the land of festivals, for they have "reasons and motives for having a "fiesta" every day of the year—sometimes three or four of them," which gives some ground for their contention that it is the "motherland of recreation."

**SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH.** The Eighth Annual Report of the Social Science Research Council shows that the field of economics and commerce has received the greatest attention. The 1932-33 appointments consist of 31 research fellowships in the social sciences, 39 council grants-in-aid, 22 fellowships in agricultural economics and rural sociology, 17 fellowships and 17 grants-in-aid were made by the Southern Regional Committee, making a total of 126. It is impossible adequately to classify these according to the different sciences since the details are not given, but on the basis of the titles and the predominant emphases they may be classified as

follows: 55 in economics and commerce, including 16 in agricultural economics; 21 in history; 20 in political science and related fields; 10 in sociology and social welfare, including 6 in rural sociology; 7 in psychology and psychiatry, 6 in anthropology and cultural studies, and 7 on various subjects. Less than 8 per cent of the appointments can be legitimately classed as within the field of sociology, and most of these are not strictly sociological subjects. Grants to the Council during the year total \$833,000.



## Alpha Kappa Delta Notes

### UNITED CHAPTERS

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Alpha Kappa Delta was founded at the University of Southern California in 1920 by a group of faculty members and graduate students. The immediate urge was the recognition of a need for faculty and graduate students to get together at stated times for the discussion of the problems upon which each was working.

The monthly meetings proved so stimulating that graduate students who went out from the original group carried the idea to other college and university centers. Alpha Kappa Delta became a national organization with the establishment of a chapter at the University of Wisconsin in 1922 and at Washington and Northwestern in 1923. New chapters were first organized on the Coast and in the Middle West. The movement has now spread to the East and the South making the society a truly national organization. It is also international since the organization of Alpha of China at Yenching University in 1930. It is the only organization of its kind in the world.

Chapters of Alpha Kappa Delta have been organized in 27 colleges and universities among which are many of the most noted institutions of learning in America. Its total membership now exceeds fifteen hundred, among whom are most of the leading sociologists in the United States. This organization has met a vital need in the field of Sociology. It stands for high scholarship and the encouragement and advancement of social research. Numerical increase is a secondary goal of Alpha Kappa Delta. Quality comes before quantity.

The name and ideals of Alpha Kappa Delta are founded on the principle, "I learn of man through his activity." In the last analysis, the purpose of all science is the discovery of knowledge which will enable man to make better adjustments to his physical and social environment. The science of sociology, therefore, studies human associational behavior for the promotion of human welfare. The slogan of Alpha Kappa Delta has been variously given as "The study of man for the service of man," and "Investigating mankind for the purpose of service." Research is democratic; and, therefore, the chapters have maintained democratic principles.

As interest and enthusiasm increased, a new purpose became evident—not only was Alpha Kappa Delta to concern itself with research, but also with scholarship, to raise the standard of work done by students, and to reward those who were most able. Thus our fraternity has developed into an honor society with definite requirements and restrictions. These requirements have been raised from time to time because of the excellent work within the organization itself. No stimulus from without is necessary. Each member of Alpha Kappa Delta gives his best and expects the best of his fellow members.

Reports from chapter officials assure us that Alpha Kappa Delta is adding zeal and enthusiasm to the study of Sociology and the general search for truth. The national officers are putting forth renewed effort to extend the worthwhile influence and services of Alpha Kappa Delta to other sociologists and universities. The National Office will be pleased to supply information to any interested university. Our qualifications are high; therefore, the acceptance of an application for a chapter is an honor to the institution as well as an opportunity and obligation.